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THE
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GENERAL COUNT PULASKI

MEMORIAL AT THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

Catholics

AND THE

American Revolution

BY

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

III

Whilst our country preserves her freedom and independence we shall have a well founded title to claim from her justice to the equal rights of citizens as the price of our blood spilt under your eyes and of our common exertions for her defence under your auspicious conduct—rights rendered more dear to us by the remembrance of former hardships. [Address of the Roman Catholics to President George Washington, 1790.]

I presume that your fellow citizens of all denominations will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of our Revolution and the establishment of our government, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed. [Reply of Washington.]

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TO THE MEMORY OF
ARCHBISHOP RYAN
WHOSE LAST WORDS TO THE AUTHOR
WERE THOSE OF
COMMENDATION FOR "EXCELLENCE"
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325. Rev. G. P. Coghlan, Phila.

326. Rev. E. A. Beyer, La Crosse, Wis.
327. Rev. Richard A. Gleeson, Santa Clara, Cal.
328. Rev. J. J. Chittick, Hyde Park, Mass.
329. Rev. Jas. Nash, Phila.
330. Thomas J. Flynn Co., Boston.
331. Rev. Fr. Walter, O.S.B., Beatty, Pa.
332. Dr. L. F. Flick, Philadelphia.
333. Rev. D. J. Mulcahy, Anderson, Ind.
334. Chas. H. Walsh, Washington, D. C.
335. Rev. Stephen F. Carroll, Neb.
336. W. L. Connelly, Independence, Kan.
337. Rev. A. T. Connelly, Boston, Mass.
338. Rev. J. T. Bennett, Kankakee, Ill.
339. Rt. Rev. Jas. F. Mooney, New York.
340. Rev. P. Guilday, Louvain, Belgium.
341. Thomas A. Fahy, Phila.
342. Rev. T. F. Galligan, Chicago, Ill.
343. Franciscan Fathers, Chicago, Ill.
344. Dr. Wm. L. J. Griffin.
345. Rev. D. J. McMackin, Rosebank, S. I., N. Y.
346. Notre Dame University.
347. Hon. Edw. Morrell, Phila.
348. Daniel Wade, Philadelphia.
349. James B. Murrin, Carbondale, Pa.
350. Rev. John McGoogan, New Milford, Ohio.
351. John P. Sherer, Zanesville, O.
352. Rev. P. J. Mulhall, Saratoga Springs, N. J.
353. Bishop Prendergast, Phila.
354. Rev. F. Burelback, Brawley, Cal.
355. Richard H. Clarke, New York.
356. J. Lord Rigby, Media, Pa.
357. Rev. Wm. J. Dower, Pittsfield, Mass.
358. Michael Jenkins, Baltimore, Md.
359. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo.
360. Thomas J. Devine, Rochester, N. Y.
361. Rev. Chas. J. McElroy, Bridgeport, Conn.
362. College St. Elizabeth, Convent Station, N. J.
363. Thos. S. Lonergan, New York.
364. Rev. Bernard S. Conaty, Worcester, Mass.
365. Daniel J. Ryan, Columbus, O.
366-7-8-9. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo.
370. Rev. J. C. White, Maloy, Iowa.
371. Catholic Club, New York.
372. Hall & O'Malley, New York.
373. Rev. Jos. J. O'Connell South Bethlehem, Pa.
374. Dr. W. T. Shanahan, Sonyea, N. Y.
375. Rev. J. J. Donlan, Centre Moriches, N. Y.
376. Rev. J. Cronin, Virginia, Ill.
377. Jno. P. Wall, New Brunswick, N. J.
378. Sister M. Agnes, Mt. St. Joseph, Ohio.
379. Rev F. J. O'Reilly, Peoria, Ill.
380. Rt. Rev. Jas. McFaul, Trenton, N. J.
381. Rev. C. W. Lyons, S.J., Phila.
382. E. P. Gallagher, Phila.
383. Rev. Edw. J. Fitzgerald, Clinton, Mass.
384. Rev. M. D. Connolly, San Francisco.
385. E. J. Donovan, Langdon, N. D.
386. Rev. T. D. Sullivan, Elm Creek, Neb.
387. Rev. Jos. T. Tiernan, Camden, N. Y.
388. Public Library, Butte, Mont.
389. International Catholic Truth Soc., Brooklyn, N. Y.
390. Philip H. Yauman, Rochester, N. Y.
391. Rev. E. Mears, Youngstown, O.
392. Old Corner Book Store, Boston.
393. Public Library, Lynn, Mass.
394. College St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.
395. Isaac B. Lazarus, Rochester, N. Y.
396. Sebastian Henrich, Evansville, Ind.
397.
398. Rev. F. E. Klauder, Annapolis, Md.
399. Hon. Peter A. Hendricks, New York.
400. Aug. N. Ritz, Milwaukee, Wis.
401. Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y.
402. Franciscan Fathers, Higginsville, Mo.
403. Jno. F. Quinn, Joliet, Ill.
404. Daniel Daly, New York
405. Rev. E. W. Gavin, Waukegan, Ill.
406. Redemptorist Fathers, Esopus,
407. Rev. Thomas Fagan, Milwaukee,

408. Rev. Thomas P. Phelan, New York.
409. Rev. John Jepson, Ellicott City,
410. James E. Meehan, E. Douglass, Mass.
411. Rev. L. S. Redner, Cleveland, O.
412. Dr. Chas. A. Wingerter, Wheeling, W. Va.
413. Rt. Rev. Jos. Schrembs, Grand Rapids, Mich.
414. Brown University.
415. Loyola College, Baltimore.
416. Rev. E. Pruente, Cape Girardeau, Mo.
417. Rev. Jos. J. Sermersheim, New Albany, Ind.
418. Capt. John S. Barnes, New York.
419. Rev. J. J. Ward, Phila.
420. Raphael T. Semmes, Savannah.
421. Rev. Jos. B. Brock, Erie, Pa.
422. Public Library, Detroit.
423. H. J. Rickelman, Effingham, ill.
424. Hugh McCaffrey, Phila.
425. Rev. F. J. Hertzog, Finleyville, Pa.
426. Rev. A. E. Dwyer, Fisherville, Mass.
427. Alex. Sullivan, Chicago, Ill.
428. Hon. Patrick Egan, New York.
429. Rev. M. J. Dorney, Chicago.
430. Rev. Wm. A. Cunningham, Turtle Creek, Pa.
431. Rev. Wm. A. O'Keefe, Voluntown, Conn.
432. Thomas R. E. Berry, Tacoma,
433. Boston College.
434. Rev. J. J. O'Connor, St. Clair, Pa.
435. Rev. J. H. O'Neill, Columbus, O.
436. Rt. Rev. C. H. Colton, Buffalo.
437. Ign. J. Horstmann, Phila.
438. Rt. Rev. F. S. Chatard, Indianapolis.
439. St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore.
440-1. Wm. M. Bain, Philadelphia.
442. Congregational Library, Boston.
443. Rev. A. P. Doyle, Brookland,
444. Public Library, New Bedford, Mass.
445. Rev. Thos. F. McGare, Haverstraw, N. Y.
446. Rev. P. J. Gallagher, Phila.
447. Public Library, Buffalo.
448. Rev. P. Trost, C.P.P.S., Carthagena, O.
449. James O'Sullivan, Philadelphia.
450. C. L. Travers, Trenton, N. J.
451. Rt. Rev. Thos. O'Gorman, Sioux Falls.
452. Rev. B. M. Bogan, Plainfield, N. J.
453. Public Library, Worcester, Mass.
454. Rt. Rev. John E. Fitzmaurice, Erie, Pa.
455. Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
456. Rev. M. A. Sullivan, Hartford, Conn.
457. Rev. Wm. P. Shannahan, Davenport, Iowa.
458. Rev. Wm. Pyne, Providence, R. I.
459-60-1-2-3. Rt. Rev. S. J. Messmer, Milwaukee.
464. W. T. White, Knoxville, Tenn.
465. Mrs. S. H. Chute, Minneapolis.
466. C. H. Barr, Lancaster, Pa.
467. Rev. Urban Freundt, O. S. M., Cincinnati, O.
468. Thomas R. Smith, Phila.
469. Sisters of Mercy, Merion, Pa.
470. Rev. W. J. Munster, Pittsburg.
471. Rev. Wm. C. Kelty, Crafton, Pa.
472. Rev. J. Grimmelman, Cincinnati.
473. Thomas Devlin, Philadelphia.
474. Rev. Wm. P. McQuaide, Boston.
475. M. J. E. Hartman, St. Louis.
476. Rt. Rev. Mgr. M. J. Lavelle, New York.
477. Rt. Rev. Wm. Kieran, Philadelphia.
478. Rev. D. F. McMackin, Rosebank,
479. Hon. John T. McGraw, Grafton,
480. Sisters St. Francis, Plainfield,
481. P. Garvan, Hartford, Conn.
482. Most Rev. L. P. A. Langevin, St. Boniface, Manitoba.
483. J. F. Healy, Elkins, W. Va.
484. Public Library, La Crosse, Wis.
485. W. B. Clarke Co., Boston.
486. Rev. Patrick J. Hally, Malden,
487. Joseph M. Smith, Philadelphia.
488. St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.
489-90. Rev. M. L. Bennett, Easton,
491. P. J. McCarthy, Providence,
492. Brother Paphylinus, Troy, N. Y.
493. Scribners' Sons, New York.
494. Mother M. Pauline, Notre Dame.
495. George W. Tehan, Springfield, O.
496. Fordham University.
497. Rev. J. H. Gaughan, Red Wing,
498. Charles M. McNulty, Phila.
499. Carnegie Library, Atlanta, Ga.
500. Rev. M. J. Cooke, Fall River, Mass.
501. Walter M. Hill, Chicago.
502. Rev. John F. Harkins, Phila.

GENERAL COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI

"THE FATHER OF THE AMERICAN CAVALRY"; FIRST COMMANDER OF WASHINGTON'S CAVALRY; COMMANDER OF THE INDEPENDENT "PULASKI'S LEGION"

"JESUS! MARY! JOSEPH!" HIS DYING WORDS AT SIEGE OF SAVANNAH, OCTOBER, 1779

CHAPTER I.

SENTIMENTS OF PULASKI.

"Honor and a true desire of distinguishing myself in defense of Liberty was the only motive which fired my breast for the cause of the United States." [Pulaski to Col. R. H. Lee, August 13, 1778.]

"I am a Republican whom the love of glory and the honor of supporting the Liberty of Union drew hither." [Pulaski to Congress, September 17, 1778.]

"An enthusiastic zeal for the glorious cause which animated America when I came over and a contempt for death first introduced me in your service."

"I could not submit to stoop before the sovereigns of Europe, so I came to hazard all for the freedom of America, and desirous of passing the rest of my life in a country truly free and settling as a citizen to fight for Liberty." [Pulaski to Congress, August 19, 1779; read October 1st. Pulaski died October 11th.]

TRIBUTES TO HIS WORTH.

"Count Pulaski who was a General of the Confederates in Poland, and who is gone to join you, is esteemed one of the greatest officers in Europe." [Franklin to Washington, June 13, 1777.]

"The Count's valor and active zeal on all occasions have done him great honor." [Washington to Congress, 14th March, 1778.]

* * * *

"I have a high sense of your merit and services and the principles that influenced the part you have taken in the affairs of this Country. The disinterested and unremitting zeal you have manifested in the service gives you a title to the esteem of the Citizens of America and have assured you mine." [Washington to Pulaski, November 24, 1778.]

* * * *

"Among those who stood in the foremost ranks of patriotism and valor, to resist oppression and raise the standard of freedom and right, was Count Pulaski. He fought to restore the falling liberties of his country, with an ardor which nothing could repress, and with a perseverance which no obstacles could diminish, while a gleam of hope remained, that Poland could be saved from the destiny threatened by its enemies. The combined power of three empires drove him from his country and he arrived in America in time to fight for our own cause of independence, and to die on a foreign shore in defending those principles of justice and liberty, whose growth a wicked conspiracy of despots had blasted on his native soil.

"As Americans, it is our duty to cherish the fame of Pulaski; he came to us in the midst of our wants and perils, when we needed the aid of soldiers like himself, ardent in our cause for its own sake, and tried by the severest discipline of experience; he died in assisting to procure the freedom, which we now enjoy, and which every American deems the first of his earthly privileges. We care not to look farther; to these claims we are willing to yield up our hearts.

"What did he do for us, and what did he sacrifice in our behalf? He served us most devotedly, he fought bravely and he sacrificed his life." [*N. A. Review,* No. 47, April, 1825, p. 378.]

* * * *

"That he gained and preserved the friendship of Washington is a sufficient proof of his merits as an officer and his conduct as a man. His activity was unceasing and his courage was conspicuous on every occasion in which he had an opportunity to meet the enemy. He embraced our cause as his own. He lost his life in defending it, thus acquiring the highest of all claims to the nation's gratitude." [Jared Sparks.]

"Few names have descended to us surrounded by more attractions than that of Kasimir Pulaski. His patriotic career in his own country, his eminent services in ours, his enthusiasm for Liberty, his chivalrous character, his impetuous courage, and his glorious but untimely fate, have so illumined his name, that it lends alike a lustre to Romance and a dignity to History." [Henry Williams at laying of corner-stone of monument at Savannah, October 11, 1853.]

* * * *

"His invaluable services to America entitle him to be numbered among the heroes of America and to be perpetuated in the memory of the people for whom he sacrificed his life." [Committee U. S. H. of Rep., 57th Congress, First Session, February 6, 1903.]

* * * *

"His talents and his patriotism, his heroic and dashing courage, his towering genius, his unshaken loyalty, his incorruptible honor, his indomitable love of country and his deeds of heroism." [Hon. A. L. Brick, Rep. Indiana, February 6, 1903.]

* * * *

"Count Pulaski was a brave man, none braver, and merits our gratitude for the spirit with which he embarked in our Revolution." [Judge Johnston, Charleston, S. C., 1825.]

* * * *

"The high endowments of the truly wonderful man, his zeal in the cause of national independence, his almost supernatural foresight, his indefatigable vigilance, his unparalleled constancy, his patience never to be shaken, his lofty magnanimity, and many other virtues of an antique cast, which made him a living transcript of what has been termed the *beau ideal* in the military character." [Captain Paul Bentalou.]

* * * *

"As a military man of science, knowledge and experience, as a soldier in the highest sense of the word, quick to perceive and decide, prompt to act, unwearied in perseverance, collected in the midst of danger, brave without rashness and discreet in his designs, Pulaski had few rivals in the lists of eminent warriors." [*N. A. Rev.*, No. 47.]

CHAPTER II.

DISTRUST OF "FOREIGN PAPISTS"—PULASKI, WHY HE CAME—COMMENDATION BY FRANKLIN AND DEANE—WASHINGTON INTRODUCES PULASKI TO CONGRESS—CONFERS WITH PRESIDENT HANCOCK—DRAFTS PLAN FOR CORPS OF VOLUNTEERS—HIS FIRST ENGLISH—GOES TO ASSIST WASHINGTON AGAINST THE BRITISH—WASHINGTON ADVISES CONGRESS TO GIVE PULASKI COMMAND OF ALL THE CAVALRY.

In the early days of the Revolutionary War there was a distrust, and even opposition, to the employment of "foreign Papists" in the service of the Colonies. This was illustrated by the opposition in the Continental Congress, January, 1776, to the engagement of Captain Dohicky Arundel, the first French artillerist to offer his services, because he was "a Foreign Papist." Yet within six months he had given his life to the cause of American Liberty on the soil of Virginia, a Colony hostile to his Faith. As time passed and the need of trained officers became more manifest, being "foreign Papists" did not wholly detract from the merits of officers who offered their services; though for "foreigners" there ever remained more or less distrust and always preference for "natives."

Among the number whose services to our Country became conspicuous and illustrious was the Catholic COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI of Poland. It is not our purpose to narrate his life from his birth until his coming to America, nor to detail his struggles for the Liberty of his own land. Though these gave him a deeper inspiration for Liberty in America and made his endeavors for our Country more earnest and whole-hearted, his career in Poland belongs to another sphere of action than that circumscribing the limitations of our work.

"Count Casimir Pulaski was born in Poland of Catholic parents in 1747. The 'dissidents,' as they were called in Poland or Protestants in general, together with Russia and Prussia, conspired against Poland, which was Catholic, to eliminate it from the Map of Europe. At that time Bishop Adam Krasinski, Count Joseph Pulaski with his son, Casimir, and a few other patriotic and staunch Catholics formed in the city of Bara in Poland on the 29th of February, 1768, a federation, called 'CONFEDERATION OF BARA' to free Poland of its enemies. Of this Confederation the most celebrated was Count Casimir Pulaski. His associate was Father

Marcus, a Carmelite monk. After many battles he fortified the Cloister of Our Lady of Czenstochora and defended it against the Russians.

"The above is enough proof that he was a strong Catholic." [Rev. B. Pawlowski, Uniontown, Pa.]

Casimir succeeded his father, Joseph, in command of the battling Polanders. For three years he continued the warfare, but in 1772 he fled to Turkey which refused to surrender him. He went to Paris, where, as his estates had been confiscated, he lived almost in poverty.

"Across the Atlantic came to him the tidings that the people of another hemisphere had bid defiance to oppression and were arming for the struggle. The sound stirred the heart of Pulaski like the voice of a battle trumpet. It was a struggle for *Liberty.* It was *his* cause, whoever the people and wherever the scene of conflict. Fate forbade him to achieve the independence of his own country, and true to the noble impulses of his soul, he came to aid in establishing that of America," said Henry Williams, Esq., on the laying of cornerstone of monument to his memory at Savannah, October 11, 1853.

"He saw a new field opened for vindicating with his sword the same principles, the same rights of mankind, the same unchangeable laws of justice, as those for which he had wielded it with so much courage and singleness of purpose in his own country." [Sparks, *Am. Biog.*, XIV, 415.]

"At the very time when the flight of Lafayette was causing so much talk, some were striving to send to the service of the insurgents Pulaski, to whom the events of Poland had given celebrity, and at the same time brought dire poverty; it was Rulhière, one of M. de Vergennes' political auxiliaries, connected with the archives of his Ministry, who was entrusted with negotiating that matter with Franklin. Beginning on March 1st (1777), they had not finished on April 12th. On this date Rulhière sent an answer to someone, who might indeed be the Count de Chatellux, who was very much concerned by inclination in all these manœuvres; he wrote that a word from M. de Vergennes to Franklin would remove the difficulties. Now the word was written or a message was carried, since, in fact, Pulaski soon embarked; and this correspondence was discovered among the State papers, in the Foreign Affairs office." [*Etats-Unis.*, 2, Nos. 64 and 101, Vol. II, pp. 394-5.]

Franklin and Deane, American Commissioners to France, made agreement with Pulaski to enter the American service.

Pulaski's application to Deane read:

PULASKI'S APPLICATION.

[Translation.]

[Oct. 17, 1776.]

Sir: Ever since I was compelled to leave Poland I have sought opportunities for the exercise of my military acquirements. My endeavors having failed during the war between the Turks and the Russians, and having, moreover, involved me in disaster and irreparable loss, I was forced to certain measures that have delayed the expression of my ardor to contribute in my person to the success of the English provinces of America.

It is now nearly a year since I contemplated the voyage, and I was encouraged thereto by persons of the greatest distinction, to whom I confided my intentions, but being unacquainted with any one knowing the state of affairs in your country, I was obliged to remain inactive, in spite of my good intentions.

By chance I have met Mr. le Chevalier Rabier de la Baume, who perfectly understands my situation, and who knew me by reputation in Poland; and it is he who advises me as to whom I should address on this subject.

You have now, Sir, the motive that impels me to send one of my friends to speak with you, and after your conversation with him, I will come to a decision.

I beg that you will accord to this officer the same confidence that you would give to me, as I have intrusted to him whatever communication I might desire to make to you.

COUNT DE PULASKI.

[*Deane Papers,* I, 324.]

June 5, 1777: In the accounts of Silas Deane with the United States among "Monies advanced to officers going to serve in America," is

June 5, 1777: To cash advanced Count Pulaski, going out to America, 480 livres. [*Deane Papers,* V, 307.]

Accordingly Franklin wrote General Washington, May 29, 1777:

"Count Pulaski, of Poland, an officer famous throughout Europe for his bravery and conduct in defence of the liberties of

his country against the three great invading powers of Russia, Austria and Prussia, will have the honor of delivering this into your Excellency's hands. The Court here have encouraged and promoted his voyage, from an opinion that he may be highly useful to our service. Mr. Deane has written so fully concerning him that I need not enlarge; and I add my wishes, that he may find in our armies under your Excellency occasions of distinguishing himself." [Ford's *Writings of Washington,* VI, p. 57.]

PULASKI ARRIVES.

Pulaski arrived in Boston in July—before the 28th—having letters from Franklin, Deane, American Commissioners, and Rodriguez, Hortales & Co., the secret agents supplying the Americans. In August—between the 10th and 23d—while Washington had his headquarters at Neshaminy Falls, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Pulaski presented the letters to Washington.

At this time also came Pulaski's compatriot, Lieutenant-Colonel Kotkouski, of whom Franklin, writing to Washington from Paris, June 13, 1777, said: "Count Pulaski can give you the character of this Mr. Kotkouski who served under him as a Lieutenant-Colonel." [*Works,* V, p. 5.]

Conference with Washington resulted in Pulaski going to Philadelphia with an introductory letter from Washington to George Clymer, one of the Delegates of Pennsylvania in the Congress.

HEAD QUARTERS, BUCKS COUNTY, Augt. 21, 1777.

I have the honor to introduce to you Count Pulaski of Poland who will visit Philadelphia to solicit of Congress a command in our Army.

I some time ago had a letter from our Mutual friend Mr. Deane speaking in terms equally favorable to the character and Military abilities of this gentleman—thus doubly recommended to your notice you will be pleased I am sure to show him all courtesy and promote his views to the extent of your power. [*Washington Papers—Miscell.*]

During the first 18 months of the war there was no regular cavalry. On the organization of the new army four regiments of cavalry were included in the plan. They were commanded by Colonels Bland, Baylor, Sheldon and Moylan.

Until the arrival of Pulaski the cavalry was under no higher officer than Colonel. This was the less important, as the regiments

never acted together but were generally employed in detached parties or on service at points remote from each other.

A CORPS OF VOLUNTEERS.

The annexed document is evidence of his conference with John Hancock, President of Congress, relative to the organization of a Corps of Volunteers to be commanded by him. It shows likewise the extent of his knowledge of English, and is, perhaps, the first autographic specimen of his writing in our language.

Establithment
of a Corps of Vallentears appertaiying to the
General that is emploi During the War in various
operations

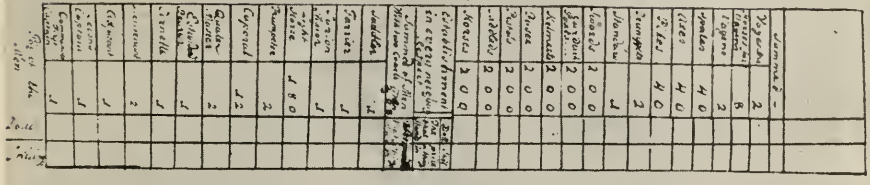
Establishment in every necessary respect	Summed of Men with two Coach Men	Doll. / Shill. The price that a thing staud in surmise	Pay of the Men Doller	Shilling
Commander First Captain	1			
Second Captain	1			
Adjutant	1			
Lieutenant	2			
Cornette	1			
Estanderd Bearer	1			
Quatermaster	2			
Caporal	12			
Trumpeter	2			
Light Horse	180			
Surion Maior	1			
Farrier	1			
Saddler	1			
Summed of Men with two Coach Men	208			
Horses	200			
Saddleds	200			
Pistols	200			
Fusee	200			
Helmeets	200			
Cardrich Poxes	200			
Swords	200			
Standard	1			
Trumpets	2			
Pikes	40			
Axes	40			
Spates	40			
Vagens	2			
Horses for Vagens	8			
Vageners	2			

Philadelphia 25 Aust 1777 Ans.

I have Dought it not my Duty to stay here any longer, in as much as I have heard; that his Exy Genl Washinkton is gon to meet the Enemy; wherefore I will go to the Army, it is. I can not do much, but Hover I will shew my good will. I depent upon His Excelly and leef him my Memorials. I shal sent to France for every Articel Necessary, and Congress will to me advancing of money, of it I will waght for a Swift and decisive Answer. If On is possible before that I shall get or optain a Comission, by which I may not stand unter any other Comand as onter General Washinkton in such a case I shall think it my indispensible Duty, to Exert my self to the utmost in my Power, this is the supstange Con-

Establishment

of a Corps of Volunteers appertaining to the General that is employ During the War in various operations


Rest of the Division
Total
Aides de Camp
Secretary
Chaplain
Surgeon
Surgeons Mates
Quarter Master
Clerks
Quarter Master Sergeant
Drum Major
Fifers
Drummers
Waggoners
Horses
Commissary of Musters
Commissary of Stores
Commissary of Provisions
Commissary of Forage
Commissary of Artillery
Commissary of Ammunition
Commissary of Military Stores
Commissary of Clothing
Commissary of Hospitals
Commissary of Prisoners
Commissary of Transports
Commissary of Waggons
Commissary of Horses
Commissary of Cattle

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serning my Afars. But your Favour to uptain I Atest my greatest Desier and Respect by which I remain Your

Excelencys
Most opitient Humble
Servt
Cr Pulaski.

[Endorsed—
Plan of
Establishment of Count
Pulaski's Corps.

The Honorable
John Hancock Esquire
President of Congress.

Le Cm Pulaski
Philadia Aug 25 1777
Letter from Count Pulaski
on the establishment of his Corps.

[*Revolutionary Papers—Miscellaneous.*]

This Corps of Volunteer Light Horse was not authorized by Congress until the following March, 1778.

Judge Johnston, of Charleston, South Carolina, in a pamphlet issued in 1825 replying to "An article in the 47th No. of *The North American Review,*" criticizing statements of his relation to Pulaski, declared [p. 36]: "Nor do I believe that it was on Washington's recommendation that Congress first created Pulaski a General of Cavalry," but of that he was "uninformed," as we now know he was on other events. Had he known of the following letter of Washington's he would not have disbelieved.

WASHINGTON PROPOSES PULASKI TO COMMAND THE CAVALRY.

When Pulaski had gone to join Washington, then in Delaware, to meet General Howe's advance on Philadelphia, the General wrote President Hancock on August 27, 1777:

Having endeavored, at the solicitation of Count Pulaski, to think of some mode of employing him in our service, there is none occurs to me liable to so few inconveniences and exceptions, as the giving him the command of the horse. This department is still

without a head; as I have not, in the present deficiencies of Brigadiers with the army, thought it advisable to take one from the foot for that command. The nature of the horse service with us being such, that they commonly act in detachment, a general officer with them is less necessary than at the head of the Brigades of infantry. In the absence of General Smallwood who is ordered to put himself at the head of the Maryland militia, we shall have two Brigades without general officers. But though the horse will suffer less from the want of a general officer than the foot, a man of real capacity, experience, and knowledge in that service, might be extremely useful. The Count appears, by his recommendations, to have sustained no inconsiderable military character in his own country; and as the principal attention in Poland has been for sometime past paid to its Cavalry, it is to be presumed this gentleman is not unacquainted with it. I submit it to Congress how far it may be eligible to confer the appointment I have mentioned upon him; they will be sensible of all the objections attending the measure, without my particularizing them, and can determine accordingly.

This gentleman, we are told, has been, like us, engaged in defending the liberty and independence of his country, and has sacrificed his fortune to his zeal for those objects. He deserves from hence a title to our respect, that ought to operate in his favour, as far as the good of the service will permit; but it can never be expected we should lose sight of this. [Ford's *Writings Washington,* VI, p. 57.]

Washington's reference to "the principal attention in Poland has been for some time past paid to its Cavalry" suggests that one evidence of Pulaski's horsemanship has been cited to show his proficiency therein and his superiority to all the American officers while at the encampment of Washington at Morristown the winter of 1778-9. It is related that the Count Pulaski, the celebrated Polish General of the Revolution, while riding on horseback, would throw his hat before him on the road, and while under full speed, so far dismount as to take it up. The Count was thought to be the best and most expert horseman in the American service. While the army was at Morristown, before coming to Newburgh, the American officers frequently exercised themselves with the Count in performing the above hazardous feat, many of whom unhorsed themselves with broken heads in the experiment. [Eager's *History of Orange County* (N. Y.), 1846, p. 337.]

CHAPTER III.

CONGRESS APPOINTS PULASKI A BRIGADIER-GENERAL—DISTINGUISHES HIMSELF AT BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE—THE RED UNIFORMS OF MOYLAN'S CAVALRY.

PULASKI APPOINTED BRIGADIER-GENERAL.

In September, 1777, Washington was opposing, on the Delaware Peninsula, the advance of Howe's army northward towards Philadelphia. Thither had gone Pulaski, if not to "do much" at least to "shew his good will."

Within a week of his going there, came on the Battle at Brandywine, September 11, 1777, where Pulaski's endeavors were of such service as to "signalize himself," as was said by James Lowell, one of the members representing Massachusetts, in writing to General Whipple, 17th September, 1777:

"Count Pulaski, who headed the Polanders, is now commander of our cavalry, having first signalized himself at the Battle of Brandywine." [*Bulletin Pa. His. Soc.*, 1845, VII, p. 44.]

On September 15, four days after Brandywine, Congress elected Pulaski "Commander of the Horse with the rank of Brigadier."

On September 21, 1777, Washington issued a General Order stating:

The Honble Congress have been pleas'd to appoint the Count Pulaski to the command of the American Light Dragoons with the rank of Brigr-Genl. [Weedon's *Orderly Book*, 55.]

"The inherent ardor of his warlike spirit, his habits of activity, and the desire of efficiently serving the cause, which he had so warmly embraced did not permit him to wait for the decision of Congress on his application—but he immediately joined the army." [Bentalou.]

How he "signalized himself" is related by Lieutenant Bentalou.

AT BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.

"He was at Brandywine, on the day of battle, with the Marquis de la Fayette and other distinguished officers, in the suite of General Washington. At the time of our right wing being turned by the victorious enemy pressing upon us, and the rapid retreat of the right and centre of our army became the consequence, Count Pulaski, proposed to General Washington to give him the command

of his body guard, consisting of about thirty horsemen. This was readily granted, and Pulaski with his usual intrepidity and judgment led them to the charge and succeeded in retarding the advance of the enemy—a delay which was of the highest importance to our retreating army. Moreover, the penetrating military *coup d'œil* of Pulaski soon perceived that the enemy were manœuvring to take possession of the road leading to Chester, with the view of cutting off our retreat, or, at least, the column of our baggage. He hastened to General Washington, to communicate the information, and was immediately authorized by the Commander-in-Chief to collect as many of the scattered troops as he could find at hand, and make the best of them. This was most fortunately executed by Pulaski, who by an oblique advance upon the enemy's front and right flank, defeated their object, and effectually protected our baggage and the retreat of our army."

PULASKI AT BRANDYWINE.

Jared Sparks relates:

"At Brandywine, Pulaski, as well as Lafayette, was destined to strike his first blow in defence of American Liberty. Being a volunteer and without command, he was stationed near General Washington till towards the close of the action, when he asked the command of the General's body guard, about thirty horse, and advanced rapidly within pistol shot of the enemy, and, after reconnoitering their movements, returned and reported that they were endeavoring to cut off the line of retreat and particularly the train of baggage. He was then authorized to collect as many of the scattered troops as came in his way, and employ them according to his discretion, which he did in a manner so prompt and bold, as to effect an important service in the retreat of the army, fully sustaining, by his conduct and courage, the reputation for which the world had given him credit. Four days after this event, he was appointed by Congress to the command of the cavalry, with the rank of Brigadier-General." [Sparks' *Am. Biog.*, XIV.]

Judge Johnston, of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1825 in his *Remarks Critical and Historical* in commenting on Bentalou's narration as above, says:

"Pulaski may have been present, and may have requested to be entrusted with the body guards; improbable as that is that he, having no commission, would be permitted to command them. But

that these thirty body guards, even with Pulaski at their head, should have brought ten thousand victorious men to a halt, is a tale fit only for the adventures of Amidis de Gaul or Baron Munchasuen. There is not the least notice of any occurrence of the kind in the annals of the day, and surely it would have reflected too much honor on our cavalry to have passed unnoticed, if true. But it cannot be true, the fire of a single company would have prostrated the whole detachment and the enemy would have passed over their bodies. The authentic records of the day assign the honor of checking the enemy and covering the retreat to adequate causes. That any writer should presume to appropriate to Pulaski the merit of having discovered, suggested and carried into execution the measures that saved our baggage and covered our retreat at the battle of Brandywine, I pronounce to be nothing short of absolute effrontery. There cannot be a word of truth in it. Washington, the day of the action wrote Congress 'the baggage having been previously moved off was all secure.'"

And yet it was for some brave action that Pulaski was spoken of among members of Congress for "having signalized himself at the battle." No other action of his by which he may have "signalized himself" is related by any writer. This indicates there must have been some "truth in it.' By his appointment as Brigadier-General he outranked Colonels Moylan, Bland, Sheldon and Baylor of the Cavalry. They became subject to his orders, though he was a foreigner not an adept in our language.

In his reply to Judge Johnston, Bentalou said:

"Pulaski, impatient of remaining near Congress to solicit a commission hastened to Washington and together with Lafayette and many other foreign officers of distinction formed that day part of his suite. The peculiar talents of Pulaski enabled him to render the most essential aid on that pressing occasion."

Bentalou continues: "It may perhaps seem marvelous that a body of thirty horsemen, quite fresh, excited by the occasion, and led by an officer intrepid and experienced, should by repeated charges have impeded the enemy's advance and given time to our army to gain ground. I was not myself an eye witness of those charges, but I saw and conversed with Pulaski immediately on his return from that important and successful duty."

Historian Ramsay says: At Brandywine "Pulaski was a

thunderbolt of war, and always sought the post of danger as the post of honor."

On the day after the battle of Brandywine, 12th September, the American army rested at Chester; on the 13th it passed through Philadelphia, and proceeded as far as Germantown; on the next day it recrossed the Schuylkill, and halted on the Lancaster road about what was then called the Warren tavern.

"On the 16th Pulaski's indefatigable activity preserved the army from a complete surprise. Washington's army was then in a most deplorable condition, "dispirited with defeat," but harassed with fatigue and hunger. The men were here served with rations of which they had been for a long time deprived. They wanted rest. Pulaski, who could not for a moment remain inactive, went out with a reconnoitering party of cavalry, and did not proceed very far before he discovered the whole British army in full march upon our camp; he retreated in full speed—went to headquarters—communicated the important intelligence to General Washington, who, received it with equal surprise and uneasiness—for, he had not the most distant idea of such a movement from the enemy. At his request, Pulaski expressed his opinion. It was, that a detachment of about three hundred infantry, with his cavalry, would be sufficient to retard the approach of the enemy long enough to enable the Commander-in-Chief to make his dispositions to receive them. The command of that detachment was given to Brigadier-General Scott, of Virginia; and they were scarcely engaged, when a tremendous easterly storm came on, and which continued the whole night without interruption. However great the sufferings of the Americans were that night, they were not the less fortunate—as probably this circumstance saved our army from total destruction." [*Pulaski Vindicated.*]

Concerning this relation of having on 16th of September saved the army from destruction Judge Johnston cites Washington's reports to Congress and other authorities to prove that the movement of the British "was the very movement anticipated by Washington and which he was then manœuvering to counteract; that he was resolved to meet the enemy and engage him in front; that there was no 'total surprise of' Washington; that Pulaski may have commanded one of the patrols and if so did only that which every patrol was bound to do, return and report. That to believe that Pulaski did all claimed for him; that Pulaski advises, Pulaski executes and

leaves the Commander-in-Chief again, only the lean honor of conducting himself according to Pulaski's advice and under Pulaski's protection" is a reflection on Washington and that he was "incompetent without Pulaski's advice, to meet the crisis." [*Remarks, 27.*]

The alarm and discouragement of the militia and the people of Philadelphia and the region round about, is set forth in a letter of Colonel Reed, Washington's Aid, to the General, from "Schuylkill Falls, September 18, 1777, at 9 o'clock P.M.," a time when the capture of the City of Philadelphia was accomplished. Reed wrote: [*Letters to Washington,* 1777, No. 18, p. 141.]

ALARM OF THE MILITIA AND PEOPLE.

I wrote before this Day and have procured a Parcel of Maps which not knowing of this Oppy or of my being down here I must defer sending till to-morrow. I cannot help acquainting you, my dear General, that the Distance of the Army from the City and its March so remote has given great Alarm and very much discourages the Militia, if any real Service is expected. I do not doubt you have sufficient Reasons for a measure which seems so mysterious—but if you could consistently with your Plan disclose them it would have a happy Effect on the Minds of the People to put it in the Power of those you can confide in to give proper Explanations—I came down to this Place this Evening at Genl Armstrongs Desire but shall return early in the Morning to the Swedes Ford—where we have the Works in some Forwardness—I shall take care that you be informed of every material Occurrence in this Quarter but cannot close my Postcript to the Generals Letter without mentioning that I have seen an Officer of Artillery who has made his Escape from Wilmington, who says that the Troops advanced into the country and only the light Troops and pick'd Men—that they think our Army is totally departed. That this main Body lays at and below Chester and between that and Wilmington.

Genl Armstrong desires me to add that he should have consulted you upon the movement he has made if his did not apprehend that Procrastination would be very dangerous and perhaps fatal.

THE RED UNIFORMS.

On September 30, 1777, Washington sent Pulaski a letter, received by him from General Reed, with an order to "immediately form a Detachment of at least fifty Horse of which part are to be

Colo Moylans, in their Red Uniforms, which will serve to deceive the Enemy and the Country people.

"I can give you no better directions than what are contained in Genl Reed's letter, for the Route that the party is to take, I only recommend it to you, to put it under the command of a good officer and send them off immediately." [*Letters*, B. IV, p. 154.]

These "Red Uniforms" had early in the year been taken from the enemy. Colonel Stephen Moylan, on April 14, 1777, had written General Washington, then at Morristown: "Mr. Mease promised me the regimentals that were taken from the enemy. He tells me there have been so many applying that if I have not your sanction, he doubts much whether I shall be able to get it."

Moylan's men got the red uniforms and, probably, without Washington's sanction, as on May 12th he wrote Moylan, a "party of your regiment arrived here yesterday with an escort of money. Their appearance has convinced me fully of the danger which I always apprehended from a similarity of their uniforms to that of the British horse and the officer who commands the party tells me that the people were exceedingly alarmed upon the road and had they been travelling through a part of the country where it might have been supposed the enemy's horse would be foraging or scouting they would in all probability have been fired upon. I therefore desire that you will immediately fall upon means for having the colour of the coats changed which may be done by dipping into that kind of dye that is most proper to be put on red. I care not what it is so that the present colour be changed."

So some of the uniforms must have remained unchanged and been given to Pulaski and in September became most useful "to deceive the enemy and the country people," to do the very thing Washington, in May, feared they might do.

PULASKI'S ORDERS TO COLONEL BLAND.

Colonel Bland, of Virginia, commander of one troop of Horse under General Pulaski, on October 1, 1777, from Pulaski's headquarters in Worcester Township, received this order from the Count:

Agreeable to his Excellency's Order, you would detach fifty good horse very early in the morning to attend Generals Reed and Cadwalader upon special business. They will find General Reed at

his quarters a mile or two to the right of Conner's house. Besides Major Jameson will select so many Light Horse as he can to be ready to march with him to-morrow twelve o'clock to this same house; all your Regiment shall joigne at my quarters the other Regiments of my brigade.

PULASKI, *B. G. of Cav.*

[*Bland Papers*, 69-70.]

PULASKI RECEIVES CONTRARY ORDERS.

These orders from Alexander Hamilton, Aide-de-Camp to Washington, were received by Pulaski as from Washington:

"You will order to the men of my guard that I have sent before to you to the same place where you are to follow me and joigne me in the army.

"*P.S.*—As soon as you meet the encampment you will send me a orderly Light Horse to warn me of your post.

"PETER WENTZ, Worcester Township."

"Oct. 2d, 1777.

"His Excellency desires you immediately to collect all the horse except those on necessary duty and repair to some place as near his quarters as you possibly can, consistent with the accommodations of the Horse. Inform him when you have done this and lose no time in doing it.

"A. HAMILTON."

Appended to the copies as above Pulaski added:

"I have now contrary orders of his Excellency as you will see and I pray you to joigne me in the army as quick as you can.

"PULASKI, Gen. of Cavalry."

[*Bland Papers*, 70.]

CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN—WAS PULASKI ASLEEP?—"PULASKI VINDICATED"—REMARKS, REPLIES AND DISCUSSIONS.

On October 4th the Battle of Germantown was fought. "The Divisions of Greene and Stephen were the last that retreated and these were covered by Count Pulaski and his Legion." [Lossing's *Field Book,* III, p. 318.]

Lossing errs in saying "Legion," as it was not then organized. He meant "Cavalry."

"On the day of the battle of Germantown," says Lieutenant Bentalou, "Pulaski was sorely disappointed and mortified. There were but four regiments of horse raised, and not one of them completed. Three of them only, such as they were, had joined General Washington's army, and on the day of battle, guards were furnished out of those regiments, to attend on the Commander-in-Chief and on other Generals—or employed in other service, so that Pulaski was left with so few men as not to have it in his power to undertake anything of importance. This was to him a matter of deep regret and bitter chagrin."

WAS PULASKI ASLEEP?

In 1822 Judge William Johnson, of Charleston, South Carolina, published *Sketches of Life and Correspondence of Nathaniel Greene, Major-General of the Armies of the Revolution,"* in which, in relating about the Battle of Germantown, he stated:

"It is a melancholy fact, of which few were informed, that the celebrated Pulaski, who commanded the patrol, was found by General Washington himself asleep in a farm house. Policy only, and a regard to the rank and misfortunes of the offender, could have induced the General to suppress the fact. Yet to this circumstance, most probably, we are to attribute the success of the enemy's patrol in approaching near enough to discover the advance of the American column."

Lieutenant Paul Bentalou, "one of Pulaski's surviving officers, one," he said, "whose pride it shall ever be to have served his country under that celebrated commander—who was by his side when he received his mortal wound, and who attended him 'till the moment when his noble soul departed from the gangrened body, to reascend to its native heaven," issued a reply to Judge Johnson,

entitled: *Pulaski Vindicated from an Unsupported Charge Inconsiderately or Malignantly Introduced in Judge Johnson's Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Gen. Nathaniel Greene,* Baltimore, 1824.

PULASKI VINDICATED.

In this he said: "Those who know anything of Pulaski, may probably exclaim, upon being told of this unaccountable drowsiness, in the most watchful, the most indefatigable, the most active military commander that ever was: 'What! Pulaski asleep at such a moment! at the approach of a battle likely to prove bloody and decisive, and when so much depended on his vigilance! The thing is incredible!'"

The North American Review, No. 47 (1825), also resented the charge of Judge Johnson, whereupon the Judge issued *Remarks, Critical and Historical, on an Article in the Forty-Seventh Number of the North American Review Relating to General Pulaski,* in which he upheld his statement. In a Postscript he declared: "General Lafayette when lately in Columbia, declared it to be true of his own knowledge."

Bentalou in his reply to Johnson's *Remarks* related that when in 1824 Lafayette visited Baltimore he was asked by Bentalou, "whether he had heard Washington or anyone else, say Pulaski had been found asleep by Washington and that the ill success at Germantown was principally to be ascribed to that circumstance?" The inquiry actually caused him to start and he answered with vehemence, "No! Never!"

On Lafayette's second visit to Baltimore the question was repeated in the presence of several witnesses and again the answer was "No! Never!"—and Lafayette proceeded to speak of Pulaski in the highest terms.

Hon. John Barney, Representative in Congress and son of Commodore Barney, who was present certified. "My impressions were that the memory of Pulaski was cherished by Lafayette, as a gallant soldier, who had devoted himself to the service of our country, and that he terminated his life without blemish or reproach." [P. 11.]

Judge Johnson in his *Remarks Critical and Historical,* issued in 1825 in reply to Bentalou says in answer to his denial of the truth of the statement of Johnson that Pulaski, being asleep, was

the cause of the disaster to the Americans and asking, "Where was the necessity for relating this anecdote respecting Count Pulaski?" said "this is my answer: The question was whether it was or was not the pause at the Chew house which gave time to the enemy to advance and repel the assailants? My reply is that the halt there was but momentary and other causes operated to bring the enemy forward in time to support the party in Chew's house. That they had notice through their patrol of the advance of our army in time to make preparations to receive them." The reply is obvious "that our patrols, or at least one of them did not do their duty."

The British account is that the approach of the Americans was discovered by the British patrols. And Pulaski must have retired early, since the discovery was made at three o'clock, whereas the front of the right column, according to Mr. Marshall, did not encounter the British picket until sunrise."

"Why did not Washington publicly stigmatize Pulaski for the offence?" The Judge's reply is: "At the date of the battle it was all important to conciliate foreigners, forbearance in such a case became almost a duty. The crisis was one at which Washington might well exercise forbearance toward foreigners. He knew not at time of his report to Congress that his approach had been discovered and reported at three o'clock in the morning. Nor could he have known it until long after. He had therefore no specific injury to lay to the charge of Pulaski at the time."

The North American Review, April 1825, answers:

"The kind of 'policy' to which Washington's silence is here ascribed, was not that which became the Commander-in-Chief of a nation's forces, nor is it that which Washington was known in any other case to exercise. Such a policy, indeed, would have been little else than betraying the high trust confided to him, and a most unjustifiable breach of right conduct, in suffering the odious consequences of the neglect of one officer to be borne by those who had faithfully done their duty. Moreover, Washington afterwards recommended Pulaski to Congress, was instrumental in procuring him a very high and responsible appointment in the service and always treated him as an officer, whom he respected, and in whom he had the fullest confidence. These considerations alone are enough to destroy the force of the charge.

"It needs not to be inquired whether Pulaski was found in a farm house or what he did, or whether he did anything, at the battle

of Germantown; it is enough to know, that Washington was acquainted with all his conduct there much better than any other person, and that he never lisped a whisper of censure for neglect of duty, but, on the contrary, aided in his future promotion. In short, we doubt not, Judge Johnson has been deceived, and that the authority on which he relied, from whatever source it came, is not entitled to credit; and every generous-minded citizen must lament, that he should have sanctioned, by his name, a charge calculated to reflect no honor on the character of Washington and to cast reproach on the memory of a brave man, whose fame is so well earned, who devoted his best days to a defence of the rights of outraged humanity in his native land, and when exiled by the usurpers whom he could not conquer, gave the last years of his life, and the last drop of his blood, to the struggles for the liberties of America."

In *The Charleston Courier,* April 4, 1825, is a communication signed "An Enemy to Persecution," though it reads as if Judge Johnson was the author. It states:

"It is literally true, as appears from a note voluntarily written by an officer of distinction who was at General Washington's side as his Aide-de-Camp when the discovery was made and heard him express all that indignation which the circumstance so naturally provoked."

The "officer of distinction" was General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney who, on returning to *An Enemy of Persecution* the pamphlet of Bentalou *Pulaski Vindicated,* said, the "author has uniformly attacked Judge Johnson for mentioning *the truth* about Pulaski."

Johnson declared, further, that Pinckney had "more than once in conversation with me, 'confirmed' the charge, that General Washington's silence at the time (except to those around him) had regard to the general merits of a brave foreigner whose own feelings, probably, inflicted sufficient punishment and evinced that his subsequent promotion was not likely to injure the service—nor did it. He fought nobly on many future occasions, and died nobly at the siege of Savannah; under circumstances, however, a little different from those stated by his Vindicator. The writer never thought of maliciously detracting from Pulaski's military virtues. It is indeed a false delicacy that would withhold from the public stock of information facts like this."

George Washington Park Custis, adopted son of General Washington, in his *Recollections* says:

"The celebrated Count Pulaski who was charged with the services of watching the enemy and gaining intelligence, was said to have been found asleep in a farm house. But although the gallant Pole might have been overtaken by slumber, from the great fatigue growing out of the duties of the advanced guard, yet no soldier was more wide awake in the moment of combat than the intrepid and chivalric Count Pulaski." [P. 195, Ed. 1860.]

Jared Sparks says, relative to the charge of sleeping:

"He has been charged by one writer with a delinquency at Germantown, in being off his guard at night, while he was in advance of the army, marching towards the enemy's lines. As no other writer has mentioned this circumstance, and as it was never made known to the public till more than forty years after it is said to have occurred, and as it is proved by the whole course of his life, that Pulaski's military fault, if he had one, was that of rushing with too much impetuosity upon the enemy, it seems both idle and unjust to entertain for a moment such a suspicion, especially when it is not pretended to rest on any better foundation than conjecture and hearsay." [*Am. Biog.*, XIV, 421.]

But it is nowhere claimed or shown that Pulaski's patrol was the one on whom the duty lay and in which it failed—to warn of the presence nearby of the enemy. It is not shown that it was Pulaski's patrol that was at fault if any were. By the British account it would appear that it was the taking possession of the Chew house and the endeavor of the Americans to oust them therefrom that were the important factors in the failure of the Americans to win the battle.

The British Government must have considered the occupation of the Chew House as the cause of the disaster to the Americans. "It was six companies of the South Lancashire Regiment, 40th Regiment of Foot—now the Prince of Wales' Volunteers—that seized the Chew House and turned the tide of the affray. For this act it was honored with the only medal given to any Regiment by the British government for deeds done in the Revolutionary War." [Taylor's *Valley Forge*, 107.]

Notwithstanding the affair at the Chew House "we ran away from the arms of Victory open to receive us," reported General Wayne.

Washington reported to Congress: "Our troops retreated at the instant when Victory was declaring herself in our favor. The tumult, disorder and despair which it seems had taken place in the British army were scarcely to be parallelled. I can discover no other cause for not improving this happy opportunity than the extreme haziness of the weather."

So even had Pulaski been caught asleep by Washington and he had allowed that delinquency to pass then and ever afterwards, and the affair at the Chew House had retarded operations, yet notwithstanding all these victory lessening factors, the testimony is that they did not seriously defeat the movements of Washington. At any rate whether an almost victory or an unexpected repulse when the news of the battle reached France, Vergennes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared, "The brave Americans are worthy the aid of France." But a few months had to pass in the negotiations until February 6, 1778, when the Treaty of Alliance was signed.

CHAPTER V.

ORDERS TO AND BY PULASKI—HIS MEMORIALS TO WASHINGTON CONCERNING THE CAVALRY.

On October 5, 1777, at Pennypacker's Mills, according to Saffel's *Records of the Revolution* [p. 345], on October 6th, at Skippack, according to Weedon's *Orderly Book* [p. 69], Washington issued Order: "General Pulaski will make return of the horse as soon as possible."

That day Washington reported to Congress the events of the battle the day before, saying: "The day was unfortunate rather than injurious. We sustained no material loss. The enemy are nothing the better by the event. Our troops, who are not in the least dispirited by it, gain what all young troops gain by being in action."

These words are on the Memorial erected by the State of Pennsylvania in Vernon Park, Germantown, in commemoration of the battle.

MOYLAN CHARGED WITH DISOBEYING PULASKI.

On October 24, 1777, at Upper Dublin, Colonel Stephen Moylan was charged before a Court-Martial of which Colonel Bland was President, with disobedience of orders of General Pulaski; with "cowardly and ungentlemanly like action in striking Lieutenant Tulinski, a gentleman and an officer in the Polish service when disarmed and putting him under guard and giving irritating language to General Pulaski."

The Court "were of opinion that Colonel Moylan was not guilty and therefore acquit of the charge against him." [Weedon's *Orderly Book.*]

On October 31st, Washington approved of the verdict and ordered Moylan's "discharge from his arrest."

This Lieutenant's name is given as Tulinski, Fulinski and Zielinski. The correct name is Zulinski.

In December Zulinski "unhorsed" Moylan. Pulaski reported the assault to Washington and sent the message by the dragoon who had witnessed the affair. Later, the same day, he wrote Washington that the affair "was not as Mr. Moylan has represented. The encounter was accidental. Neither had Mr. Zulinski any other design than to retaliate on Col. Moylan in the same manner

that Col. M. had treated him, by sticking him Col. Moylan once or twice with a staff, without 'offering to draw his sword or use any other arms.'"

WASHINGTON PROHIBITS PLUNDERING.

Washington, on October 25, 1777, sent Pulaski the following order, which he was to make known to Colonels Bland, Sheldon, Baylor and Moylan:

HEAD QUARTERS, October 25, 1777.

I am sorry to find, that the liberty I granted to the light dragoons of impressing horses near the Enemy's lines has been most horribly abused and perverted into a mere plundering scheme. I intended nothing more than that the Horses belonging to the disaffected, in the Neighborhood of the British Army, should be taken for the use of the dismounted Dragoons, and expected, that they would be regularly reported to the Quarter Master General, that an account might be kept of the number and the persons from whom they were taken, in order to a future settlement. Instead of this, I am informed that under pretence of the authority derived from me, they go about the Country, plundering whomsoever they are pleased to denominate Tories, and converting what they get to their own private profit and emolument. This is an abuse that cannot be tolerated, and as I find the license allowed them, has been made a sanction for such mischievous practices, I am under the necessity of recalling it altogether. You will therefore immediately make it known to your whole Corps, that they are not under any pretence whatever to meddle with the horses or other property of any inhabitant whatever, in pain of the severest punishment; for they may be assured, as far as it depends upon me, that Military execution will attend all those who are caught in the like practice hereafter.

The more effectually to put it out of their power to elude this prohibition, all the horses in your Corps, in the use of the Non-Commissioned Officers and privates, not already stamped with the Continental brand, are without loss of time to be brought to the Qr. Master General to receive that brand; and henceforth, if any of them shall be found with horses that are without it, they shall be tried for marauding and disobedience of orders.

I am fully confident, you will be equally disposed with me to reprobate and abolish the practice complained of, and will adopt

the strictest measures to fulfill the intention of this letter, and prevent its continuance in future.

I am Sir Your Most Obedt. Servt.,

G. Washington.

MEMORIAL RELATIVE TO THE CAVALRY.

On November 23, 1777, Pulaski addressed the following "Memorial relative to the Cavalry" to Washington:

My General:

The desire which I have of fulfilling my Duty, leads me to make frequent representations to Your Excellency of matters which regard the Service of the Cavalry.

What follows is my opinion, and if I am so happy as to find it agreeable to Your Excellencys Views, it will be necessary to carry my plan into execution as soon as possible.

As in all appearances it will be late before we retire to Winter Quarters I would have a detachment formed from the whole Cavalry, composed of one Major, 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants—1 Cornet—4 Serjeants—10 Corporals and 120 Dragoons. The Remainder with the Colonels should repair to Winter Quarters at the place where each Regiment was formed and there the Colonels will endeavour to procure Recruits train them, and be ready against the beginning of April to repair wherever they shall be order'd to assemble. There they will gain some knowledge of the System formed by the most essential Manouvres.

2. When the whole Army enters into Winter Quarters the half of the remaining Cavalry may be dismiss'd to join the respective Regiments, the other half composed of Non Commissioned Officers and Dragoons may form the Bosnique armed with Lances—which I undertake to train and perfect in their Exercise. The Augmentation of the Horses is likewise necessary. I spoke of it in a preceding note.

I would wish to form a Squadron of Bosniques consisting of 120 men. I answer for their Ability. The Form of this squadron should be—2 Captains of which I desire to be the first, 2 Lieutenants—1 Ensign—1 Adjutant—1 Surgeon Major and 1 Quarter Master—2 Serjeants. 10 Corporals—2 Trumpeters—1 Farrier—1 Sadler—120 Bosniques. And as the Number of Cavalry even

then would not be sufficient to fulfill all the Duties required in a large Army, I would propose to have 200 Militia men mounted who might serve extremely well for the less important Duties, and be a very considerable Relief to the Cavalry.

There is an intelligent Officer in the Horse Service who disgusted by the Irregularities prevailing in his Regiment has asked for his dismission—his name is Henry Belhen his Office Adjutant of Moylens Regiment—it would be a loss to the Cavalry if he should quit the Service. I believe he might be retained by giving him the Commission of second Captain and continuing his pay as Adjutant he will remain with me in the mean time—as all our Officers need Instruction he might be employ'd by me in seeing the Manouvres executed and in exercising the Cavalry. There should be three other adjutants of different ranks, who being out of the lines and having no concurrence with the pretensions of the others may be made very useful to the Service.

I have repeat my Prayer that a speedy Decision may be had on these points, as they respect the welfare of a Corps upon which the Fate perhaps of the whole Army depends.

[The above is the English translation of the original in French, each occupying half of the page of script. *Letters to Washington,* 1777, Vol. XX, p. 37.]

"Bosniques," so-called from Bosnia, of Russia, the name of a light cavalry corps organized in Prussia in 1745 by Frederick II to oppose the Cossacks.

This was followed on December 19th with another "Memorial":

PULASKI'S SECOND MEMORIAL.

In my preceeding representations I have been particular respecting the present state of the Cavalry, the means by which it may be augmented and compleated—but on this head I must necessarily know your Excellency's determination. The advantages that would arise from a Superiority in Cavalry are too obvious to be unnoticed. It may be further observed that during this War the Country will daily become more open and clear of woods and fences, consequently better adopted to the manouvres and service of the Cavalry.

While we are Superiour in Cavalry, the enemy will not dare to extend their force, and, notwithstanding we are on the defensive,

we shall have many Opportunitys of attacking and destroying the enemy by degrees, whereas if they have it in their power to augment their Cavalry and we suffer ours to diminish and dwindle away, It may happen that the loss of a Battle will terminate in our total Defeat. Our army once dispersed and persued by their horse will never be able to rally, thus our retreat may only be cut off, our baggage lost, and principal officers taken, and many other events occurr not less Fatal.

Your Excellency must be too much Occupyed to take Cognizance of the detail of every department—a Workman requires proper tools to Carry on his business, and if he does not use them in their place he can never be perfect. Your Excellency is undoubtedly acquainted with yours, therefore a person possessing your confidence and properly authorized is essentially necessary to answer decisively Such proposals as I have made in my late representations respecting the Cavalry.

I must not omit to mention here the dissatisfaction you have expressed at my seemingly inattention to your orders. Your Excellency may be assured that the good of the Service is my constant Study but the Weak State of the Corps I Command renders it impossible to perform every Service required. Nay my reputation is exposed as being an entire stranger in the country the least accident would suffice to injure me but notwithstanding, I cannot avoid hazarding every thing thats valuable in life.

C. Pulaski, *Genl of Cavalry.*

If you think that my request is importent and Right, and that you Would before expect the Resolution of Congress; I Would be glad to be the bearer of Your letters to Congress. I hope to obtain sooner by that way their Resolved as we want so many things ther is not time to be lost.

CHAPTER VI.

PULASKI'S ESTIMATES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE CAVALRY—WASHINGTON'S INSTRUCTIONS—PULASKI AT TRENTON.

PULASKI'S ESTIMATES FOR CORPS OF CAVALRY.

1st Let all detachments be called in, and a General review of the Whole Horse Arms and Accoutrements be appointed, and the Adjutant General or Majr of Brigade inspect into the state and Condition of the Horses and Arms, A Qur Mastr Genl into that of the Accoutrements. Let this review be continued from day to day until an exact return can be taken under the inspection of the Genl and Col's of the Condition of the Cavalry.

2nd This being done let all the Horses to be branded, numbered and sized, the men also be numbered and sized, and all their Arms and accoutrements have No of the Regt troops and Man.

3d Let the Regts be divided into Squadrons, the Squadrons into Troops and the troops into Squads.

4th Let it be ascertained what number of men detached constitute such a command, and when any such number of men is detached from the whole or a Single Regt let the Brigade Majr or the adjutant be obliged to keep an exact Roster; and detach every officer on Tour according to the strength of the Command.

5th Let no Party of those be detach'd except by order of the Commander in Chief, or the Commander of a division Wing of the Army; and that through the Order of the Genl of Horse or in his absence the commanding officer of horse present when the Brigade Majr or orderly adjutt shd keep a regular detail of the Parties detached, the service they go on, and be aswerable to the commander of Horse, that he be regularly apprized of the time for their detail.

6th That all Guards and Pickets be relieved every 24 hours if within five miles, or every 48 if within ten and above five, and every four days if within twenty and above ten.

7th That all Parties be considered as relieved when they return to the Regt of Corps and go on from that time in Roster with the others but if it shd be necessary to keep out flying parties that they be relieved once a week, and that the Officer commanding

them before the time expires send an orderly man to Md Quars of Cavalry with information where he is in order to his being relieved.

8th That when the Cavalry are not divided into Wings, but remain in one body, that a Picket from the whole be regularly mounted every day in the front of the Army, for relieving the Videttes, Patrolls &c. and that the brigade Majr of the day deliver to the officer of the Picket of those in writing the names of the posts to be relieved and a description of the situation and route.

9th That besides the Picket for relieveing Videts and Patrolls There shall be a certain proportion of the whole for doing the incidental duty, of carrying intelligence, reconnoitring parties, &c.

10th When the Horse are divided on the Wings the Picket for each Wing and incidental Guards, to mount in front of their recruitive wing and be under the command of the officer commanding the Horse of their respective wing who shall appoint an officer of the day, Adjutant of the day &c and conduct the detail as above. The commanding officer of the Horse of each Wing to order out such Patrolls, and post such Videttes as the Genl officer of the Wing shall think proper, or he may find necessary. Receive and convey intelligence to and from the commander in Chief, &c.

11th That All the Horse for Picket be warned the day before they mount, and that every Col. be obliged to see that the men, have at least one days Provision cooked and forage for one day, or assign the reason to the Genl of Horse through the Brigade Majr or the commanr of Horse through the Adjutt of the day, when the officer through whose neglect it happend shd be immediately called to acct and dealt with according to the nature of the offence.

12th That Such Horses as are found unfit for Service be weekly reported, sold, or sent to recruit, and others purchased in Lieu of such as are beyond recovery for Service, and that some person be appointed to purchase Horses for the use of the dismounted Dragoons in Lieu of those that are Cast.

That Armorers and Saddlers be provided for the Horses, to keep their Arms and accoutrements in order.

[Endorsed—Decr 19, 1777/Count Pulaski's Estimate/and Requisitions for the/Corps of Cavalry./]

PULASKI'S REGULATIONS FOR CAVALRY.

On December 29, 1777, Pulaski wrote Washington:

As I have nothing more in view, in giving the following sistem, then the fulfilling my duty, to introduce and maintain my frequent representations will not frustrate those whose Zeal for the good of these States is known.

My Own knowledge dictates the following articles, which tho' they may not be perfect yet I am assured they are essentially for the better regulating our Cavalry:

Firstly. I begin by adopting regulations for the Service, Such as is practiced in the King of Prussia's Army these may easily be printed in English and distributed in the different Corps for the instruction of the officers and men and that the same be strictly observed and executed.

Secondly.—During the time necessary to discipline our cavalry, It will be expedient to mount a number of the militia for the purpose of disciplining the Cavalry. I ask but two months provided the whole are kept in a body.

Thirdly. It will be necessary to appoint a master of exercise who shall have the rank of Colonel, he will inspect into the exercise and instruct the Officers in their several duties, a Corps of volunteers may be formed under this Officer, who may serve as aids to the Officers that may be detatched on separate commands. This is a method to instruct the youth.

Fourthly. The Strength of the Cavalry is not equal to the Service required of it. It must be augmented. I think that each Troop should consiste of at least one Captn Two Lieuts one Cornet, Two Sergts eight Corporals, and Sixty-four Dragoons, this would make an Augmentation in each regiment of Twelve Lieuts Forty eight Corporals and one hundred and eighty privates. I wish also to raise a Squadron of Lancemen which I will command in person having under me one Captn Two Lieuts one Cornet, Four Sergts eight Corporals and one hundred and Twenty eight privates. With those means I will undertake to perform every Service necessary and Continue the Campaign through the winter.

Fifthly. A place should be assigned as a depository for the Cavalry, this place should be kept by an Officer of the Invalids who should maintain good order and have charge of the magazines and Stores with orders to recruit.

Sixthly. We are defficient in Officers Skilled in the Service of the Cavalry. We have Some Vancancys already and if the plan of augmentation takes place there will be more. I am acquainted with some good Officers who have Served in the Cavalry and who at present have no employ. Shall do myself the honor to recommend them in time and place.

Seventhly. It is absolutely necessary that we be provided with every Article requisite, not only for the Number in Service, but that their be a Surplus of every Article deposited in Store to replace the losses we may meet with during the Campaign. By this precaution the Service of the Cavalry may without interruption be performed and a perfect order maintained.

Eighthly. If the Honorable Congress will be at the expence of Cloathing and Arming the Cavalry, I am acquainted with a Gentleman who will undertake to purchase them both, at the price they cost the King of France, Freight Excepted.

Ninthly. If the Qr Mr General Should be Charged with the equipment of the Cavalry I flatter myself the means I shall propose will not be rejected by him.

C. PULASKI, *Gnl of Cavalry.*

On December 31st Pulaski was sent these instructions by Washington:

WASHINGTON'S INSTRUCTIONS.

You are to march the Body of the Cavalry into Winter Quarters at Trenton, where you are to take the most effectual means for putting both men and Horses in condition to act with vigour in the ensuing Campaign. Notwithstanding your distance from the Enemy and the apparent improbability of their forming any Enterprise against you, some degree of vigilance will be necessary to secure your Quarters from surprise, this may be effected by such small Patrols as will not make the Tour of duty come round too frequently, and break in too much upon the Repose of the men and Horses, which is so essential to reestablishing them; the same Patroles may likewise be a safeguard to the Shipping laid up at Borden Town.

After you are well settled in Quarters frequent Opportunities, in favorable weather, are to be taken of perfecting the Cavalry in the most useful manouvres, even in a series of bad weather will not prove a total bar to the instruction of the Men and Horses, as

they may at such times perform the ordinary exercises of the Riding School, a proper House for which purpose you will provide immediately upon your arrival at Trenton. This kind of Discipline will not occasion any greater exercise than is conducive to the Health of both Men and Horses.

The men are to keep their Arms in the best order, and the Sadlers to keep the Saddles and Bridles in constant repair; if any Regiment be without a Sadler, the Commanding Officer of it is to procure one with proper Tools, upon the best Terms he can make.

The Colonels are Commissioned to provide their Regiments with Clothing and accoutrements. All that can be done with respect to these Articles under your Eye, is, that the Officers require their Men to make the best of what they have, by repairs.

You will have sufficient time for training a Troop of Lance Men, and the Lances may be made according to your directions on the Spot. No pains should be spared to inspire the Men with an affection for their Horses, and make them perfect in the management of them. These important ends can only be gained by great attention and assiduity in the Officers. You must therefore strictly prohibit all wandering from Quarters.

Given at Head Qurs this 31st Decemr 1777.

G. WASHINGTON.

Pulaski obeyed the order to march to Trenton. From there he reported on January 9, 1778.

PULASKI REPORTS FROM TRENTON.

I arrived here yesterday with the Cavalry where I expected to have found forage sufficient to subsist the Cavalry, at least for a few days, my Brigade forage master had been informed by Colo Biddle that such provision was made and that he would have nothing more to do then Issue the same, but, so farr to the contrary there was not a Load of Hay in Town. With the greatest dificulty we have been enabled to put our heads under Cover. I applied to the civil magistrates for directions relative to the forming a magazine, in the meanwhile the Horses must subsist. I am therefore obliged to divide them in several squads and send them out about two miles in the rear of the Town, untill the necessary provisions both for forage and Quarters can be made. It will be impossible for me to Quarter the Cavalry in this place unless the

Galley men are removed, but they say they have an order from the Governor and Concil to remain here and having prior possession, think they are entitled to hold it. I wait your Excellencys positive order in what manner to proceed and if in this Case, I must execute my first orders, It will be necessary the Galley men should receive orders to evacuate the Town, I have the honour to assure your Excelly that the Cavalry is in want of every article. It must be exercised and taught the service from the Colo to the private. Colo Kolatch is a man of great merit and deserves the Charge of Master of Exercises; he's an officer worthy of research and exclusive of a thorough knowledge of his abilities request his being employed by your Excelly. I can recommend him and assure your Excelly will never have reason to repent your confidence in him, if this proposal should be agreeable to your Excelly, the sooner I am informed the better as he will be of infinite service to the Cavalry this winter in Quarters.

I have met with an armourer who lives at Eastown, he undertakes to furnish me with pikes, pistols, Carbines, &c., if your Excelly approves of him the Qr Mr General will take your orders on that head.

There are some excellent horses in this Country and as Colo Luterloh has received orders to press all horses fit for the service he may procure a number here, but this must not be delayed as I am informed many persons buy them for the use of the enemy.

Trenton, 9 January, 1778.

Four days after arrival at Trenton, Pulaski issued this Notice: (*N. J. Gazette,* Vol. I, No. 8, p. 3, c. 3, Jan. 21, 1778.)

PULASKI TO TRENTON MAGISTRATES.

TRENTON, January 12, 1778.

To the MAGISTRATES *in* TRENTON.

Gentlemen—I have the honour to acquaint you, that having the command of a corps, which, from the fatigues of a laborious campaign, and the severity of the season, is under the necessity of taking shelter to recruit and re-establish itself in your State, am desirous of guarding against any attempts of the enemy which might bring distress upon the good people of this town and its neighbourhood, as you must undoubtedly be sensible that the seat of war is ever exposed to the fury and depredations of the enemy—

Nothing on my part shall be neglected to prevent such evils; but all my vigilance may not suffice, without the assistance of the inhabitants, to render any quarters secure: I therefore request of you gentlemen, and the good people of this town, to give me the earliest intelligence of any movement of the enemy you may discovr towards this quarter, when, upon all such occasions, I shall take the most efficacious measures to exempt the inhabitants of this town from falling victims to the rage of a desperate and cruel enemy, and convince the publick that the zeal of the troops I command, will prove the justice of those inestimable rights they defend. I further request you will use your endeavours to procure me every convenience necessary for the subsistence of my troops while they occupy this post, in order that I may be enabled to make head against any incursions of the enemy. I expect that your patriotism will inspire you with the diligence and activity requisite to give satisfaction to those men, who from motives of honour, sacrifice themselves to a cause so righteous as that of liberty. These my requests may, if you judge necessary, be printed and handed to the inhabitants of this neighbourhood.

I have the honour to be,
with respect, Gentlemen, your
most obedient humble servant,

C. Pulaski, *Gen. of Cavalry.*

CHAPTER VII.

WASHINGTON AND FOREIGNERS—PULASKI REPORTS THE CONDITION OF THE CAVALRY AND THE NEED OF RUM.

WASHINGTON CAUTIONS AGAINST FOREIGNERS.

Washington to Pulaski, January 14, 1778:

Head Qurs 14th January, 1778.

Your Letter of the 9th Instant was delivered to me yesterday, and I immediately acquainted the Forage Master General with such parts of it as related to his Department. If proper Magazines for the subsistence of the Cavalry cannot be formed at Trenton, this is an insurmountable obstacle to their quartering there, and they must of necessity be removed to Flemingtown or some other convenient place in that neighborhood, where the proper supplies can be obtained. But if the only objection to Trenton, be a little difficulty that may at first occur, in procuring the most desirable Quarters for the Officers and Men, I would not have any time lost in seeking farther, the Barracks and the Town together will certainly furnish ample Quarters for the Galley Men and the Cavalry. The latter may with more propriety be billeted on the Inhabitants, in order to have their Horses immediately under their eye.

As so much has been said of the Character and abilities of Mr Crovatch, I have no objection to his being engaged in the capacity of Exercise Master for a few Months; at the same time I must caution you against a fondness for introducing foreigners into the Service; their ignorance of the Language of the Country and of the genius and manners of the people, frequently occasion difficulties and disgusts which we should not run the risque of, unless it be in favour of extraordinary Talents and good Qualities. I shall give orders to the Quarter Master to employ the Armourer at Easton for the Service of the Cavalry, provided he has not been previously engaged in any other way, by the Commissary of Military Stores.

I must postpone any decision with respect to the Horses, until the arrival of the Committee of Congress, as I am in daily expectation of those Gentlemen. I hope you will not be long kept in suspense, if you can in the mean time, engage the Owners to keep their Horses on the spot, you will take every proper step for that

purpose. I have no objection to your making Trial of the abilities of Mr Bedkin as Brigade Major for the present; it will soon be discovered whether he is equal to the office. [*Letters,* Series B, IV, 412.]

To which Pulaski responded on January 20th, which Washington answered on 22d.

PULASKI WANTS RUM FOR CAVALRY.

My General—

I have received your orders dated 14th Jany respecting quarters at Flemingtown. Previous to removing from hence I was desirous of informing myself whether this place might not be made suitable for us, but every one agrees that neither forage nor any other necessaries can be had in sufficient quantities for our use—on this account I am obliged to give Your Excellency notice that the Cavalry cannot otherwise be reestablished than by distributing it among the different houses in the rear of Penny Town 8 miles distant from hence. For my own part I intend to remain at Trenton with a detachment from the whole Corps which cannot be very considerable because the men that I keep with me must be well armed and this is not the case with many. I hope in time to procure a sufficiency of forage to subsist 120 horse, if your Excellency approves of this step I will remain, otherwise receive new orders. I am exceedingly uneasy at not being able to establish with equal facility proper measures for regulating the Cavalry. I am employed in composing a Set of Regulations which I intend to send to you in a little time—if they are approved, I will have them printed and distributed among the Officers. It is almost needless to mention to you that I experience great difficulty in remedying different abuses. Two Dragoons of Moylens Regiment were wanting in respect to their officer call'd Tacssi, who arrested them and conducted them to his Quarters; one of them attempting to come to me, the Officer seized the Sentry's Sword and gave the Dragoon two blows, which have maimed him. I have arrested the Officer for his passion and particularly because he used the Sentinels Sword, and I have imprisoned the two Dragoons. As I have reason to complain of the ill-will of the rest of the Officers, I cannot but praise those of Blands Regiment who conduct themselves with the greatest propriety.

I would entreat Your Excellency to permit me to propose to

Capt Craig the Command of the Lance-men, he might be replaced by some other Officer as for instance by Capt Smith. There are many things here of which the Cavalry are in want, but the workmen raise the prices too much, I do not think it would be amiss to have them rated by the Magistrates. The articles which I allude to are Leather breeches &c &c the Inhabitants would willingly furnish us, but they complain that they have not received any money for the last years Receipts; on this account we cannot expect much willingness in them to serve us. We have not gained much by changing our Quarters; in Camp the Cavalry received Rum from time to time—here we have none. I hope my General, that when you give orders for furnishing the infantry with means for making themselves merry, you will not leave the Cavalry in the dumps.

We are in want of Arms, and the Fusils which your Excellency ordered for us, are not yet arrived. You will pardon me my General for giving you so much trouble, in consideration of its arising from my anxiety to do my duty.

The Person whom I sent to examine Flemingtown reports to me, that two Regiments may be quarter'd there and in its neighborhood—Baylors and Moylens Regiments will be placed there; Blands and Sheldons in Penny Town and its vicinity. I remain at Trenton with the Detachment that I have chosen and which I have been exercising in the meantime. I hope that we shall be furnished with Fusils and Pistols—there is a Merchant here who is desirous of contracting to furnish us with these Articles. If the Cavalry should be augmented I hope soon to receive your orders that the Officers may take their measures accordingly.

Trenton, 20th January, 1778. Received 22d. Answered 26th.

CHAPTER VIII.

PULASKI DISAPPOINTED—RUM IS SCARCE—PULASKI JAILS A WAGGONER—HIS REGULATIONS FOR CAVALRY.

PULASKI DISAPPOINTED.

On January 25, 1778, Pulaski to Washington from Trenton:

My General—

I am altogether disappointed in my plans—not only the Country is laid waste, but there are people everywhere who have the right of first Comers. Magazines are formed to the right and left—the great quantity of Waggons belonging to the Hospital, make a great Consumption of forage the Inhabitants of themselves are not inclined to supply us as they are not paid. I send the Letter of Major Clough. The three other Regiments still remain here, but they will have subsistence for no more than five days at most. If your Excellency permits I will send the Cavalry towards Morris Town, there we may take proper measures. In the meantime we may form a Magazine here, and as the Campaign approaches, in the last month of our Winter Quarters, return her and continue the exercise which will teach us our Duty.

NO RUM FOR CAVALRY.

To which Washington replied on 25th January, 1778:

I can only repeat, what has been already written on the subject, that if the Cavalry can procure a sufficiency of forage at the quarters first assigned them, that situation is to be preferred, otherwise they must undoubtedly retire to the nearest place where this indispensable article can be obtained.

With respect to having the Prices of Articles necessary for the Cavalry rated, as it is a matter intirely of civil cognizance, it can only be done by the authority of the State. The scarcity of Rum is so great, that the Infantry can only have it dealt to them on certain occasions; your men must therefore content themselves till times of greater plenty.

Your Officers complain that the Cavalry undergo severer duty now, than they did while they were in Camp. As rest and refreshment are two of the principal objects of your removal from Camp, I hope you will, by proper arrangements, give your Men and

Horses an opportunity of reaping these benefits from their winter Quarters.

There is a large supply of Carabines arrived, at one of the Eastern ports, and orders have been given to bring forward a sufficient number to furnish the Cavalry. [*Letters,* B, V, 16.]

PULASKI JAILS A WAGGONER.

Pulaski to Washington, January 31, 1778, from Trenton:

I have the honor to inform your Excelly of three Troops of horse belonging to the state of New Jersey well accoutred and their horses in best order, and the Gentlⁿ are very desirous to go down to the lines.

I received a letter from Major Jameson that the party of men now under the Command of Captᵗ Craig is to be releived; as I have send of[f] all the Arms and accoutrements of the Cavalry to be repaired and the men are badly Clothed, should be Glad if your Excellency would write a few lines to Govonor Livington as the Officers and Gentleman in the Different Troops are willing to take that duty for a few weeks, which would recruite the men and horses now on Command Verry much.

I must not omit mentioning a Circumstance, though of the most Trivial nature, yet a little embarrasses me, A waggoner belonging to the Brigade an honest inoffensive Countryman, having undesignedly taken a mainger from the Stable of (one Clumm) to feed his horses, the latter maliciously without informing me of the matter, took a writ against the waggoner and put him in jail, by which means his Team was neglected the gears lost, on being informed of the affair, I took the waggoner into my costody where he remains a prisoner. My Ignorance of the Civil Law induced me to referr the Matter till I could be further advised.

PULASKI'S "REGULATION OF CAVALRY," 1778.

His Excellency General Washington—

I make no doubt but your Excellency is acquainted with the present ineffective state of the Cavalry. In this Situation it cannot be appropriated to any other service then that of orderlys or reconnoitering the enemys lines, which your Excellency must be persuaded is not the only Service expected from a Corps, when on a proper footing is so very formidable. Although it is the opinion

of many that from the construction of the Country, the Cavalry cannot aid to advantage, Your Excellency must be too well acquainted with the many instances, wherein the Cavalry have been decisively serviceable, to be of this opinion, and not acknowledge that this Corps has more than once Compleated Victorys. To this end I would wish to discipline the cavalry and flatter myself by next campaign to render It essentially Serviceable.

What has greatly contributed to the present weak State of the Cavalry was the frequent detachments order'd to the Suite of General and other officers, while a Colo commanded, which were appropriated to every one, and the horses drove at the discretion of the Dragoons.

The Confidence with which the Congress and your Excellency have honored me are sure guaranties to the Zeal I shall ever act with in the service of the United States, but notwithstanding my great desire of rendering the Cavalry, so useful, as its first Constitution intended, I find it impracticable seeing that it is deficient in its principal requisitions, my reflections on which I have judged necessary to communicate to your Excellency, as proof of my atatchment to the good of the service and desire of executing your Excellency's designs, hoping for an opportunity of deserving the favor conferred upon me by your Excellency.

Article First.

It is absolutely necessary that the Cavalry have a master of exercise who should instruct the Commissioned and Non-commissioned Officers in the rules of service, as having the Command am obliged to act with precaution—but his officer actuated by different motive would remove the bad habits and correct the defects of the superior officers. There is an Officer now in this Country whos name is Kolach. I know him to have served with reputation in the Prussian service and assure your Excellency that he is every way equal to this undertaken.

Second.

That Twenty four Dragoons be drafted from the different regiments to form a separate corps, Who shall be taught the use of the Pike or Lance of which Two or three days will render them master. For this purpose I must have chosen men.

Third.

A Quarter Master General to the Cavalry is essentially necessary to procure winter Quarters Stables and Provender. also to provide Arms, Accoutrements, and Clothing, an intelligent officer, acquainted with the Cavalry should be chosen for this purpose; I would recommend to your Excellency Major Blackden of Colo Sheldens regiment a Gentleman who has displayed his knowledge in the equipment of said regt and whom I think sufficiently qualified to merit the Trust.

Fourth.

It is full time the Quarter Master General was sent to the place assigned for winter Quarters, in order to provide Magazines that the Cavalry may be Kept embodied and conveniently exercised and disciplined. The Horse service has ever been respected; one third of the Cavalry is generally on duty and often the whole, when it returns to Camp. I should draw provision and Cook it, agreeable to orders but their full allowance is seldom granted, this I know by experience being the worst served of any Genl in the service. To prevent this evil, a Commissary should be appointed to the Cavalry. The Cavalry in an Army Generally forms a separate division and has greater privileges then the Infantry, which the Honor of the service exacts, but here I find it is the Contrary, not that I aim at a Superiority over the rest of the Army, but am desirous of having Justice done the Corps I Command. It is my duty, for my own part I wish to be Subject to your Excellencys orders only agreeable to my request upon entering the Service which is the limit of my ambition.

C. Pulaski, *Genl of Cavalry.*

CHAPTER IX.

WASHINGTON ORDERS A COURT-MARTIAL—PULASKI'S FIRST ENGLISH LETTER TO WASHINGTON—PULASKI AT TRENTON.

WASHINGTON TO PULASKI.

On February 4, 1778, Washington wrote Count Pulaski:

The forming any considerable deposit of Forage at Trenton, while you have so small a Force to protect it does not appear to me advisable, as the Enemy may, with the greatest facility, destroy it.

You will be pleased to transmit me an exact Return of the Cavalry immediately, and hereafter to continue to make accurate weekly Returns. I am desirous of submitting your Pattern Saddle to the inspection of the Committee, you will therefore send it to Camp without delay.

"THE FIRST PROVD OF MY INGLISCH."

Here is a letter of Pulaski to Washington, which Pulaski believed to be his first in English. He had forgotten about his Plan of a Corps of Volunteers presented President Hancock, August 25, 1777. The other letters given were written by his Secretary:

TRENTON, 4 Feby 1778.

Sir—I join the letter from A prisoner, Je'wil determined mi answer. The Cavalry is Placed according to Instruction from Colonel Bidle. I remain hier with the detachment of Lenceurs. I mean If Your Excely approved of, to March toward Borlington in this time. Our Magazin wil be form sufficient for to furnish the Whole Cavalry fifteen Days by Soch Time we shal biguin the Genl Exercise. I Report further, that in Eastown the Murchents and treatsmen ar not wiling to deliver the Necessaris wanting for want of Money. I hope Your Excely wil order to Satisfy'd them, If you recollect the first letters I wrote, particularly the Article of the Horses end about the Commission for Colonel Kowaer with Authoryty to Comend a detachement as a Colonel hi wil bi of more

Sarvices in on Attack as in other Duty I have the honor to bi with respect

Your Excellencies
most obedient and humble Sarvant,
C. Pulaski, Gn of Cavalry.

Pray Excuse mi If I have wrote false it being the first provd of my Inglisch.

[*Letters to W.*, 1778, Vol. XXI, p. 234.]

[The Library of Congress retains the original of the above in Pulaski's hand.]

Pulaski, in January, recommended Zielinski to Washington as "worthy of merit" to be commissioned as First Lieutenant and Lieutenant Craig to be Captain of the Lance men. To the latter, Washington, on January 26th, replied that he had no objection but refused, on 4th February, consent to the appointment of Zielinski as "his character has not yet been cleared from a charge of a serious nature brought against him by Colonel Moylan." He advised a Court-Martial and when "furnished with their proceedings I shall be able to judge of the matter." Pulaski, on February 8th, requested Washington "to order Colonel Moylan to attend or to send his charge and evidence the Court shall be immediately ordered." But on the 10th he sent Washington "the proceedings of two Courts of Inquiry; one respecting the dragoons who are said to have robbed an inhabitant; the other respecting Mr. Zielinski. A Court-Martial cannot be held on this officer on account of Colonel Moylan's absence, and in consequence of the officers being so scattered—even for the officer of the dragoons I could not collect a sufficient number to hold a Court-Martial. Your Excellency may have them tried according to the report or order them to be sent to the galleys." He sent "depositions in favor of Zelinski," but Washington refused "to take notice of it."

Pulaski added: "Whatever is done for us I hope will be done without delay. Our time is short and I suppose the campaign is to be opened by the Cavalry. It will not be for want of attention in me if they are not in a condition to do it."

The difficulty relative to Zielinski was settled satisfactorily, for on April 18th the Committee of Congress acting in conjunction with General Washington reported in favor and Congress agreed, appointed John de Zielinski Captain of Lancers, of Michael de

Kowatz as Colonel Commandant of the Legion and Count Julius de Montfont, as Major.

On 10th February, 1778, Pulaski submitted to Washington "a Schedule of expenses for clothing and equipping the cavalry," which he submitted to the Committee of Congress. On 14th Washington informed Pulaski:

"These Gentlemen will by no means consent to a Plan, which appears to them so extraordinarily expensive. As each Colonel has undertaken to provide for his own Regiment, and the Lance Men are to be draughted, the Men who compose this Company must take their chance for Clothing &ca with the rest of the Dragoons.

"You are at Liberty to raise as many Recruits as may be wanted, provided it can be done on the Terms allowed by the Continent; that is, twenty Dollars bounty, to men engaging for three years or during the War, but I do not approve of your giving encouragement to Volunteers, as the trouble which they occasion, generally overbalances their service."

PULASKI SENDS AN EQUIPPED LANCEMAN.

The following, written on 10th, was received on 12th and answered by Washington on 14th February, 1778:

TRENTON, 10th February, 1778.

I send your Excellency one of my Lancemen, he is completely equip'd. I find people here who are willing to serve, if you approve of it my General, I will advance them money for [blank in the MS.]. The Governor is here and promises to give me an answer as soon as a Council shall have been held, which will happen in a few days.

Whatever is to be done for us I hope will be done without delay, our time is short and I suppose the Campaign is to be open'd by the Cavalry, it will not be for want of attention in me, if they are not in condition to do it. I send Your Excellency the proceedings of two Courts of Inquiry, one respecting the Dragoons who are said to have robbed an Inhabitant, the other respecting Mr Telienski. A Court Martial cannot be held on this affair, on account of Colo Moylan's absence, and in consequence of the officers being so scattered—even for the affair of the Dragoons I could not collect a sufficient number to hold a Court Martial.

Your Excellency may have them tried according to the report or order them to be sent to the Galleys, this is an exemplary punishment, and would be useful to the public, as the Fleet is in want of men. There are some persons here who are desirous of serving with me as Volunteers with arms and accoutrements.

ADDRESS OF WASHINGTON.

The situation of the army and the prospects at this time are set forth in this Address of Washington:

" To the Inhabitants of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland & Virginia.

Friends, Countrymen and Fellow Citizens:

After three Campaigns, during which, the brave Subjects of these States have contended, not unsuccessfully, with one of the most powerful Kingdoms upon Earth, we now find ourselves, at least, upon a level with our opponents, and there is the best reason to believe, that efforts, adequate to the abilities of this Country, would enable us speedily to conclude the war, and to secure the invaluable blessings of Peace, Liberty and Safety. With this view, it is in contemplation, at the opening of the next Campaign, to assemble a force sufficient, not barely to cover the Country from a repetition of those depredations which it hath already suffered, but also to operate offensively, and strike some decisive blow.

In the prosecution of this object, it is to be feared, that so large an Army may suffer for the want of Provisions. The distance, between this and the Eastern States, from whence considerable Supplies of Flesh have been hitherto drawn, will necessarily render those supplies extremely precarious. And unless the virtuous yeomanry of the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia will exert themselves to prepare Cattle, for the use of the Army, during the months of May, June and July next, great difficulties may arise in the course of the campaign. It is therefore recommended to the Inhabitants of those States, to put up and feed, immediately, as many of their stock Cattle, as they can spare, so as that they may be driven to this Army within that Period. A bountiful price will be given and the Proprietors may assure themselves, that they will render a most essential service to the illustrious cause of their Country, and contribute in a great degree

to shorten this bloody contest. But should there be any so insensible to the common interest as not to exert themselves, upon these generous principles, the private interest of those, whose situation makes them liable to become immediate subjects to the Enemies incursions, should prompt them, at least to a measure, which is calculated to save their property from plunder, their families from insult, and their persons from abuse, hopeless confinement or perhaps a violent death.

Headquarters Valley Forge GEORGE WASHINGTON.
February 18th, 1778."

The original of this Address sold for $290 at Davis & Harvey's, Philadelphia, December 6, 1909.

The suffering of the American Patriots at Valley Forge is a commonplace recital among us all, but to strengthen our admiration of the fidelity and patience of the distressed army, let us read with loving hearts the General Order of Washington, issued in the depth of that distressful winter:

"The Commander in Chief again takes occasion to return his warmest thanks to the vertuous officers, & soldiers of this army, for their fidelity & zeal which they have uniformly maintained in all their conduct. Their fortitude not only under the common hardships incident to a Military life, but also under the additional sufferings to which the peculiar situation of these states has exposed them, clearly proves them worthy the inviolable privilege of contending for the rights of human nature, the freedom & Independancy of their Country. The recent instance of uncomplaining patience during the scarcity of Provisions in Camp, is a fresh proof that they possess in an eminent degree, the spirits of Soldiers & magnanimity of patriots. . . . Thank Heaven! Our Country abounds with Provisions & with prudent management we need not apprehend want for any length of time; Defects in the commissaries Department, contingencies of weather, & other temporary impediments have subjected & may again subject us to a deficiency for a few days—But Soldiers! American Soldiers! will despise the meanness of repining, at such trivial strokes of adversity, trifling indeed when compared with the transcendant prize which will undoubtedly crown their patience & Perseverance. Glory & freedom, Peace & plenty, to themselves & community; the admiration of the world, the love of their Country, & the gratitude of Posterity."
[Dr. Ebenezer Elmer, Mrs. D. & M., 95.]

PULASKI JOINS WAYNE.

PULASKI TO WASHINGTON, February 27 [1778], Trenton.

Acknowledges receipt of Gen. Wayne's orders to join him at Mount Holly, and explains his reasons for not being able to do so. His Cavalry is too small for transportation charges. Advises change in the position of the Cavalry. Appreciates his position as being one of the youngest Brig. Generals. [*Washington Papers,* Vol. XXII, p. 77.]

On March 1st Washington wrote Pulaski:

You will afford General Wayne all the assistance in your power, and the rather as the Service in which he is engaged is of great importance. A sufficient number to furnish Men for keeping a look out, and preventing any sudden enterprise of the Enemy against his parties is all that is requisite. [*Letters,* B, V,101.]

On March 3d Washington sent to Pulaski Monsieur de Pontieres, whom Congress had appointed Brevet-Captain in the Cavalry. He was to be "considered merely as an officer *a la suite* and to be employed in such a way as will be most likely to conduce to the good of the service." [*Letters,* B, V, 112.]

PULASKI'S EXPECTATIONS NOT REALIZED.

Pulaski, after five months' experience at the head of the Cavalry, found it was not a post which answered his expectations, or in which he could perform a part adequate to his hopes and his desires. Moreover, the officers of the several regiments, who had heretofore been in a measure independent, were not easily reconciled to the orders of a superior, particularly a foreigner, who did not understand their language, and whose ideas of discipline, arrangement and manœuvres were different from those to which they had been accustomed.. [*Sparks,* XIV.]

Accordingly, Pulaski desired for himself an independent Command in which he would be free from the embarrassments attending his present position. This he made known to Washington on February 20, 1778, then at Valley Forge.

CHAPTER X.

AT VALLEY FORGE—PULASKI AND WAYNE FORAGE FOR SUPPLIES IN NEW JERSEY—ATTACK ON THE BRITISH AT HADDONFIELD.

When at Valley Forge the desolate winter of 1777-8, Pulaski occupied the house of John Beaver. It is believed the property then belonged to Rev. Dr. Currie. It is still standing though remodelled. It is on "the road from Centreville to Port Kennedy, and with its low ceilings, quaint dormers, heavy walls and recessed doors is still one of the best specimens of the comfortable farmhouse of the latter part of the eighteenth century remaining in the Valley." [*Am. His. Reg.,* March, 1898, p. 626.]

Though an independent commander, Pulaski was ordered by Washington to proceed to New Jersey and to act in unison with General Anthony Wayne in procuring supplies for the famishing army.

Here is Pulaski's report to Washington from Burlington, New Jersey, dated "midnight, 28th February, 1778," which was received by Washington, March 3d. It is in French. [*Letters to W.,* Vol. XXII, p. 100, translation.]

I have the honor to report to you that having assembled all the Cavalry of the Regiment Blan[d] and of the detachment which I have had with me, I have found 44 Troopers, 5 Sub-ordinate Officers for the Service, and although they are not in the best condition, I have marched with them against the Enemy, but as the road is insupportable, I am forced to Pass the night at Burlington.

To-morrow, I count on reconnoitering the Enemy, and I shall act accordingly. I shall see Gen. Wayne, and I shall concentrate (join) with him. I shall neglect nothing which the good of the service shall require, but I do not expect to be under his orders. Nevertheless, I shall serve to my own prejudice the Public interest.

Nevertheless, I shall try, My General, to diminish Your embarrassment on my Account by resigning from my charge, with which Congress has honored me by your recommendation.

I sent from here two armed bateaux on Ancokes (Rankokas) Creek to observe by the River the approach of the Enemy, who were found two Hours after mid-day on four different vessels at the passage which is called Sene (*i.e.,* Sein) Merise (Maurice Bay?). I repeat to Your Excellency the very great necessity of

attending to the needs of the Cavalry. They lack everything. I should have desired to equip well, at least, the Regiment of Blan[d] with the Lancers, but as this is forbidden me, it is necessary to employ other measures, without trusting too much to the Colonels, who certainly will be in no Condition to accomplish their objects.

It is not for myself that I speak; I do not count on having the honor of being at the head of this Corps in the coming Campaign, but, as I shall always be a friend to the interest of the Americans, I am forced to tell my way of Thinking; moreover, if after me the Command shall be given to Col. Moilen [Moylan], all the Cavalry will be in the same Condition as his Regiment. Colonel Blan[d] is an active Officer. He will suit this command, and Monsieur Moilen [Moylan] can be contented with something else. I say what I believe to be necessary.

Burlington, 28 February, midnight, 1778. C. Pulaski.

Proceeding southward Pulaski joined Wayne and approached Haddonfield near Camden, a region in British occupancy. A force of 1200 or more were sent from Philadelphia to intercept the foragers and capture Wayne or Pulaski. They met at Haddonfield. Here is Pulaski's report to Washington of the affair:

My General—

We have given Battle to the English but the infantry arrived a little late and in small Numbers, so that the English boldly marched upon (us) with the 3 pieces of cannon and 600 Infantry which I have seen myself; our infantry and the Cavalry attacked in the beginning and afterwards defended themselves resolutely and always giving ground returned to the charge. Four of the Dragoons' Horses were killed, three totally disabled, and three others slightly wounded.

In this affair, I too lost my horse, which cost me a good deal and was excellent; he lost his leg as the result of a shot. You will permit me, my General, to choose for the time being another horse from among the Dragoons until I find one to my liking. I have the honor to say to Your Excellency that the Dragoons accomplished wonders. They are good Soldiers, but they lack everything, they will lose the desire to do good Service.

In pursuit of the enemy, I took 7 Prisoners, among whom is a Captain of a Vessel, who, being a Scout to reconnoiter our maneuvers at close hand, fell within the lines. All the others are

Sailors who were beating the woods, and were captured by our Cavalry. The Night before this attack I alarmed them so that they retreated precipitately at the same time from Hatienfield [Haddonfield], and my patrol in pursuit of them took a prisoner, who avowed that they were 1200 with 4 pieces of Cannon. There are the details.

In regard to General Wayne, I gave him to understand that he has abused his authority and that he knows that his orders do not concern me in view of the special Order which I had from Your Excellency and, moreover, that I ought to be exempt from all other orders, as the Commander of the Cavalry and (as one) who had entered the Service under no other condition than that of not being in subjection to any other than the Chief of the Army, but that my Zeal for the service surpassed this point of Honor and that after an Agreement I would do everything that he should find advantageous to put in operation. I have acted accordingly, and I cannot complain of the General in any other respect; on the contrary, according to his way of doing (*i.e.,* Characteristically), he was too frank for me to do him justice. I repeat to Your Excellency that the horses are (all) too necessary; this drove which is with me can do no more because of the Bad road; also, if I shall find a good horse anywhere, I shall impress him. General Weyne has some 20; I do not like them at all. Awaiting orders.

P.S.—In the pursuit of the enemy, I took some live Stock, and I had a Part of His Hay burned.

March 3, 1778, in the Vicinity of Hadenfield [Haddonfield]. [*Letters,* XXII, 102, translation.]

In their retreat the British were assailed by the Americans. "Pulaski, at the head of his little troop of cavalry, was everywhere on the alert, seeking the assailable points of the enemy and charging them with spirit and effect. His horse was wounded. His conduct was such as to elicit the warm praises of General Wayne in his report to Washington.

General Wayne's report of the expedition as preserved in *Washington Papers,* Vol. XXII, p. 111. It reads:

HADDONFIELD, 5th March, 1778.

Sir—Soon after I wrote Your Excellency from Mount Holly—I recd Intelligence that the Enemy had Detatched themselves into

small parties and were Collecting forage Cattle &Ca in the Vicinity of this place, Coopers and Timbers Creeks this Induced me (altho my Numbers were few) to make a forced march and Endeavour to drive in or cut off some of these Parties,—at Nine O'Clock at Night we Arrived at a Capt Mattocks—about four Miles to the South East of this place, where we were soon after joined by Genl Pulaski with about fifty Light Horse, Col Ellis with two Hundred and fifty Militia being the Whole of his Command—took part at Ever-Ham Meeting at the junction of the Roads leading to Egg Harbour and Mount Holly—at ten O'Clock Genl Pulaski Attempted to Surprise the Enemies Advanced Post at a Mile a half Mile out of Haddonfield—but Miscaried.

Col *Stirling* who Commanded the Enemy having in the fore part of the Evening Recd Intelligence of our March—and our Numbers being Exaggerated to thousands—moving in three Columns—for his Right, left and Center—the *North Brittain*—thought it Prudent to Retreat—he accordingly Decamped at Eleven at Night and Arrived at Coopers ferry before day—destroying some Spirits, and leaving Waggons, Horses, Cattle &Ca behind which he had stolen from the Inhabitants, who have since Claimed and Recd their property.

The Troops being much fatigued, I could not follow before late in the Morning, beside I thought proper to send toward Salem to see whether I was safe in advancing not having heard anything of the Enemy who went that Rout, as soon as I found that we had nothing to Apprehend from that Quarter, I went with Genl Pulaski to examine the Position of the Enemy who we found at Coopers ferry in full force, the wind being too high to admit the Boats to pass, however they were too well posted to do anything with them being covered and flanked by their Shiping—about four O'Clock in the Afternoon the Wind lulled—when they crosses over about fifty Six head of *poor Cattle* the whole they had been able to save from the Number they had Stole.

On Observing that they were preparing to Retreat over the River—and Genl Pulaski Impatient and Anxious to *Charge*—I ordered up Capt Doyle with fifty Infantry who lay three Miles advanced of the Rest—directing the Other part of the Detatchment under Colonel Butler to follow as fast as possible—about the same time I Recd Intelligence of a Reinforcement having crossed from Phila who were Marching up Coopers Creek and were pushing for

our Rear, Col. Ellis being posted with his Militia on that Rout—I Ordered him to Advance and Receive them—About this time Capt Doyle arrived near the Enemies Covering party whose numbers were about three times as many as Our's when joined to the Horse, but as they were Approachable on each flank and the Center being favourable for the Cavalry Genl Pulaski and myself were Determined to Attack them—in Order to gain time for the main body to come up—as well as to arrive and Prevent the Reinforcement of the Enemy from proceeding further up the Creek we soon Obliged the Covering party to Retreat and pushed them hard Col Stirling advanced in force to support them—this answer'd my wishes and hopeing to lead them from under Cover of their Shiping Ordered the Infantry to keep up a Constant and galling fire falling back by slow Degrees until they should be joined by Col Butler's Detatchment.

At this Instant the Hessian Grenadrs attempted to force over Cooper's Bridge in face of about One Hundred Militia under Col Ellis but they soon gave up the Attempt.

The firing from the Enemies Shiping, field pieces, and Muskettry now became General, which was bravely Sustained by this Little Corps of Infantry—but we could not draw Mr Sterling far—when Night coming on and Col Butler not being able to get up until too late to see—the Enemy Effected their Retreat to Phila before Nine at Night on Monday last, but not without some loss, attended with Circumstances of Disgrace that will not be easily Eradicated.

Genl Pulaski behaved with his Usual Bravery having his Own with four Other Horse Wounded—the little Handful of Infantry who had an Opportunity [of] Engaging—behaved with a Spirit that would have done honour to the Oldest Veterans.

Col Abe[rcomm]ber who Commanded the Detatchment that went to Salem hearing that the Militia were Collecting in Great Numbers—and that we were Advancing from Mount Holly—also took the *Horrors* and passing by Water got safe to Phila the same Evening—leaving his whole collection of cattle &Ca behind for the owners to take again.

Thus ended the Jersey Expediton which was Conducted with *great Caution*—by two *North Brittains* at the head of full three thousand Troops and Eight field pieces—but they have saved themselve's, and we have saved the Country for this time at least.

I have been necessitated to Remain here for two or three days to refresh the Troops and to Procure Shoes to enable them to March, I shall proceed for Camp tomorrow and will Comply with your Excellencies Orders of the 28th Ultima as far as possible.

I wish that I could Inform your Excellency that this Country was likely to be Covered by its Militia—but I fear that few will Appear to do it—Col Ellis is partly left alone.

PULASKI TO RESIGN.

On February 28th, Pulaski had written to Washington that as "embarrassment" was caused the General by reason of being an independent commander though at times acting jointly with or under orders by his own acquiescence, that he would "resign his charge." To this Washington replied:

I have received your favour of the 28th Ulto informing me that you were proceeding with a part of Bland's Regiment to join General Wayne; you will have received my instructions relative to the Service which you are to render.

Your intention to resign, is founded on reasons which I presume make you think the measure necessary. I can only say therefore that it will always give me pleasure to bear testimony of the zeal and bravery which you have displayed on every occasion.

Proper measures are taking for completing the Cavalry and I have no doubt of its being on a respectable footing by the opening of the Campaign. [*Letters,* B, V, 111.]

PULASKI AT YORK WHERE CONGRESS WAS IN SESSION.

In March, 1778, Pulaski resigned command of the Cavalry—Bland's, Baylor's, Sheldon's and Moylan's regiments. On March 20th, Washington wrote Colonel Moylan: "As Count Pulaski has left the command of the Horse, never, I believe, to return to any general command in it again, I have to desire that you will repair to Trenton and take on yourself the command of that Corps until Congress shall determine further on this head. You will use your utmost endeavors to have the Cavalry belonging to the four regiments (not in New Jersey) put in the best possible order that they may take the field with some degree of eclat."

Pulaski resigned so as to organize an independent corps, "The Pulaski Legion." With Colonel Stephen Moylan as his successor in command, we have two Catholics as Commanders of the Cavalry of the Revolution.

The same day Washington wrote Colonels Bland and Baylor: "As Count Pulaski will, I believe, quit the command of the Cavalry and is now absent from that Corps and at York [Pa.], you are to receive your orders from Col. Moylan."

On the 14th, March, Washington had written to John Hancock, President of Congress:

WASHINGTON ON PULASKI'S RESIGNATION AND THE FORMATION OF A LEGION.

Sir—This will be presented to you by Count Pulaski, who, from a conviction that his remaining at the head of the cavalry was a constant subject of uneasiness to the principal officers of that Corps, has been induced to resign his command. Waving a minute inquiry into the causes of dissatisfaction, which may be reduced perhaps to the disadvantages under which he labored, as a stranger not well acquainted with the language, genius, and manners of this country, it may be sufficient to observe, that the degree of harmony, which is inseparable from the well-being and consequent utility of a corps, has not subsisted in the cavalry since his appointment and that the most effectual as well as the easiest remedy is that which he has generously applied.

The Count, however, far from being disgusted with the service, is led by his thirst for glory, and zeal for the cause of Liberty, to solicit farther employment, and waits upon Congress to make his proposals. They are briefly, that he be allowed to raise an independent corps, composed of sixty-eight horse and two hundred foot, the horse to be armed with lances, and the foot equipped in the manner of light infantry. The former he thinks he can readily fill with natives of good character, and worthy the trust reposed in them. With respect to the other, he is desirous of more latitude so as to have the liberty of engaging prisoners and deserters from the enemy.

The original plan for the lance-men was to have drafted them from the regiments of horse. But, as this method would produce a clashing of interests, and perhaps occasion new disturbances, the Count prefers having a corps totally unconnected with any other. My advice to him, therefore, is to enlist his number of cavalry with the Continental bounty; and if it should be found consonant to the views of Congress to allow his raising the number proposed over and above the establishment for the horse, then he would

have them on the footing of an independent corps; if not, he might at all events have them as drafts; and in this case there would be no ground for complaint.

With regard to the infantry, which the Count esteems essential to the success of the cavalry, I have informed him, that the enlisting deserters and prisoners is prohibited by a late resolve of Congress. How far Congress might be inclined to make an exception, and license the engaging of prisoners in a particular detached corps, in which such characters may be admitted with less danger than promiscuously in the line, I could not undertake to pronounce.

I have only to add, that the Count's valor and active zeal on all occasions have done him great honor; and, from a persuasion that, by being less exposed to the inconveniences which he has hitherto experienced, he will render great services with such a command as he asks for. I wish him to succeed in his application.

P.S.—It is to be understood, that the Count expects to retain his rank as Brigadier, and, I think, is entitled to it from his general character and particular disinterestedness in the present occasion. [Ford's *Letters of Washington,* VI, 422.]

On March 28, 1778, the *Journal of Congress,* then in session at York Town, Pa., records, "Letter of this day from Count Pulaski was read." The original evidently written by Pulaski is among the *Papers of Congress,* No. 164, page 1. It reads:

Gentil Men—

My Zeal for Your Servyce is veriwell know. It don't deserve to be rejected. I beg you as a favour to permit mi to serve You or If my proposal disples You let me no. The answer for which I am expecting sinse ten dais. whch the honourable Congress well give mi, shal be the recompens of my [ ] willing to conduct the Publick Interes. I expect it, and I reman with respect

Gentil Men

Your Most humbl Servent

Cr Pulaski, *Gl*

Th project propose by me
is to Wil to Support of Our Army
That I belev any business ought to be stoping
decision of this.
Saterday Morning.

[Endorsed—
Letter from C. Pulaski/
York town—March 28, 1778/
read.—]

The "proposal" to which he had been expecting for ten days an answer evidently referred to the organization of a separate Command—of the "Legion" he desired and on which the Board of War had reported on March 19th.

The *Journal* of Congress continues:

"Congress took into consideration, a report of the 19, from the Board of War; whereupon, *Resolved,* That the Count Pulaski retain his Brigadier in the army of the United States, and that he raise and have command of an indepndent corps to consist of sixty-eight horse and two hundred foot, the horse to be armed with lances, and the foot equipped in the manner of light infantry; the corps to be raised in such way and composed of such men as General Washington shall think expedient and proper; and if it shall be thought by General Washington that it will not be injurious to the service, that he have liberty to dispense, in this particular instance, with the resolve of Congress against inlisting deserters."

The report of the Board is in *Papers of Congress,* No. 147, folio 557. The members present were Gates, Pickering and Peters. In the same volume on folio 549 are: "Thoughts about the objections made against Inlisting Deserters of the Enemy," but it is not in Pulaski's writing, though, doubtless, dictated by him, or expressing his views.

THE LEGION.

Although authorized to enlist recruits in any State which were to be credited to the quota of the State. Pulaski established his headquarters at Baltimore. The Legislature of Maryland placed his "Legion" on the same footing with the other Maryland regiments and rendered him all the assistance necessary for its organization. In June, 1778, General Smallwood complained to the Council that Pulaski was enlisting men belonging to the other regiments, but the Council took no action on the matter, as they said, in reply, they "had no discretion in their action; the direction of the Assembly is the rule of their conduct, from which they had not the liberty to deviate" [Scharf's *Md.,* II, p. 346.]

He was successful and by October 330 men were enrolled—sixty more than at first proposed.

CHAPTER XI.

PULASKI'S MONEY ACCOUNTS—RECRUITING IN MARYLAND AND NEW JERSEY—VISITS BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA—ORDERS A BANNER FOR THE LEGION—LONGFELLOW'S ALLEGED HYMN OF THE MORAVIAN NUNS.

PULASKI'S ACCOUNTS.

March 27, 1778, at York Town, Pa., Pulaski wrote the Auditors of the Army, at Camp, that "by resolve of Congress he had been ordered to South Carolina with his Legion and to leave Capt. Baldesqui, Paymaster of the Corps, to settle my account with you concerning said Corps. Some receipts were lost in the hands of Lieut. Col. Boze, who was killed at Egg Harbor but I hope that will make no great difficulty, being persuaded you do depend enough on my honor to pass over such matter. I hope you will also be kind enough to dispatch Capt. Baldesqui as soon as you possibly can." [Scharf's *Records Rev.*, p. 34.]

Joseph Carleton from the War Office, April 19, 1778, wrote the Auditor of Accounts that at request of Capt. Baldesqui he sent for inspection copy of payments to Count Pulaski and himself for the pay and other expenses of the Legion amounting to $135,500. The last sum of $35,000 was paid only a few days ago to Gen. Pulaski for the recruiting services of his Legion. It will therefore be out of the power of Capt. Baldesqui to account at present for the above sum, he having no returns from the General that show how it has been expended.

On April 6, 1778, Congress ordered $50,000 to be advanced Pulaski on account of his Legion. On May 18th a further sum of $16,000 was ordered for the purchase of horses and recruiting and on August 20th was voted $17,786 to be sent Pulaski "to equip his Legion."

Philad., May 15, 1779, James Johnston, Auditor to the Board of Treasury saying the accounts of Count Pulaski and Capt. Baldesqui have been examined, amounting to 105,111 44/90 dollars and compared with as many vouchers as have been produced. I find I cannot settle such accounts as they are not agreeable to the resolves of Congress and the orders of the Board of Treasury.

It appears that the General and Pay master have received at

sundry times 181,286 dollars. The General in letter to the Auditors was killed at Egg Harbor.

The accounts of Capt. Baldesqui amounting to 44,706 21/90 March 27, mentions that some receipts were lost by Col. Boze which are not agreeable to the resolves of Congress or the orders of the Treasury Board, he not having produced any receipts for either officers or privates; instead he produces certificates at the bottom of each account that the account is true and exact and that the amount of each has been paid by his Paymaster—from all of which it appears that these accounts as rendered cannot be settled. [Saffel.]

In Congress, May 17, 1779, the Committee on Treasury reported:

That in obedience to the order of Congress they have referred the accounts of General Count Pulaski's Legion to the auditors of accounts for the main army: that for want of regularity in keeping those accounts and of proper vouchers, agreeable to the directions of Congress and the Board of the Treasury, Auditor Johnston has reported to them that it is impracticable to settle the said accounts, as appears from his report and remarks accompanying their report.

Resolved, That the commanding officers of the detachment of the army serving in South Carolina and Georgia be authorized to appoint a pay master for the said Legion; and that Captain Baldesqui, the present pay master, be detained until he shall have produced competent voochers, and settled the accounts of the said Legion. [*Journal.*]

This action of Congress in appointing a new Pay Master and detaining Captain Baldesqui, the Paymaster of the "Pulaski Legion," greatly displeased the Count as we will learn by his letter to Congress of August 19th from Charleston, South Carolina. Captain Baldesqui, as late as December 11th, after the accounts of the "Legion" had been settled satisfactorily, resented the Resolution as a reflection on his character. He sent Memorial to Congress on which

Congress Ordered, That so much of the memorial which relates to his character which he apprehends will be wounded by the resolution of 17th May, unless facts are properly stated, be referred to the Board of Treasury. And that so much as relates to his desire of leave to resign his commission and be gratified with the brevet of Major be referred to Board of War. [*Journal.*]

Further records relating to the settlement of accounts show as follows:

Philadelphia, July 28, 1779, Capt. Baldesqui to Congress: that he had gone to camp to settle his accounts; auditors so busy could not attend to him for a month; went to Boston; gave Auditors all the papers received from Pulaski; got sick in Boston; delayed; on arriving at camp found Auditors had examined accounts and made report to Treasury which induced Congress to pass a resolution which has been published which is to his disadvantage.

Pulaski had begun his expenses for the Legion three months before I was appointed to it; that the business done by him and his officers so negligent as to lose several vouchers; Pulaski confessed it himself to the Auditors; I have a general receipt from Pulaski that I have given an exact account of all sums I received from him all the time I have been appointed in his corps; the accounts are as true and exact as I can make them. I am furthermore sure that Count Pulaski has laid out for the Legion at least 50,000 dollars of his own money which are not mentioned in his accounts. If the regularity of public business will not permit the trusting to Pulaski's honor, settle the accounts as you think right and Pulaski will pay. [Saffel.]

In Congress July 29, 1779, a letter of 28th from Captain Baldesqui, paymaster of General Pulaski's Legion was read:

Resolved, That the Board of Treasury be authorized to cause the accounts of the said Legion, for the reason set forth in the said letter, to be settled in such proofs as in the discretion of the auditors or commissioners of accounts shall be judged satisfactory.

December 28, 1779, Board of Treasury reported that the auditors of the army report from West Point, 24th August, 1779, that Captain Baldesqui had settled his accounts as paymaster of Count Pulaski's Legion to the first day of March, and that he had discharged his duty with strict integrity and honor. [*Journal.*]

In the "Expenditures of Congress" for 1779, on February 13th, is the item "For recruiting Armand and Pulaski Corps—144,000 dollars."

What portion was expended on Pulaski's Legion does not appear.

Read Pulaski's letter of August 19, 1779, from Charleston, relative to his accounts—Chapter XVIII.

RECRUITING IN NEW JERSEY.

At Trenton, New Jersey, Major Betken sought recruits for the Legion, as the following advertisement in *The New Jersey Gazette,* Vol. I, No. 21, April 23, 1778, shows:

CONGRESS having resolved to raise a CORPS consisting of INFANTRY and CAVALRY, to be commanded by General Count PULASKI. All those who desire to distinguish themselves in the service of their Country, are invited to enlist in that corps, which is established on the same principles as the Roman Legions were. The frequent opportunities which the nature of the service of that corps will offer to the enterprizing, brave and vigilant soldiers who shall serve in it, are motives which ought to influence those who are qualified for Admission into it, to prefer it to other corps not so immediately destined to harrass the enemy; and the many captures which will infallibly be made, must indemnify the legionary soldiers for the hardships they must sustain, and the inconsiderable sum given for bounty, the term for their service being no longer than one year from the time that the corps shall be completed. Their dress is calculated to give a martial appearance, and to secure the soldier against the inclemency of the weather and season. The time for action approaching, those who desire to have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in that corps, are requested to apply to Col. *Kowatch,* at Easton, to Major *Julius,* Count of *Mont-Fort,* at head-quarters, or at Major *Betken's* quarters at Trenton.

RESOLVE OF CONGRESS.

IN CONGRESS, April 6, 1778.

Resolved, That if any of the states in which Brigadier General *Pulaski* shall recruit for his Legion, shall give to persons enlisting in the same for three years or during the war, the bounty allowed by the state, in addition to the Continental bounty, the men so furnished, not being inhabitants of any other of the United States, shall be credited to the quota of the state in which they shall be enlisted.

Major Henry Betken, a Pennsylvanian, had been Adjutant of Moylan's Cavalry, but was, this April, 1778, promoted to Pulaski's Legion. John Shrader, the Quarter Master of the Legion was also a Pennsylvanian, as was Sergeant Richard Laird, who died at

Middlesex, Connecticut, May 6, 1828, age 68. [*Pa. in Rev.*, II, 161.]

Leaving York after conference with the Board of War and the President and members of Congress, Pulaski proceeded to Washington's encampment at Valley Forge to confer with the Committee of Congress investigating army officers. But he found the Committee had returned to York. Whereupon, on April 9th, he wrote to President Laurens:

But I hope that shall not stop succès of my Bisonies for his Excellency General Washington did give me his consent to the nomination that I did propose already in Congress and at the board of War. I have the honnor of sending to the honble committee a Letter from General Washington—according to it, and I hope from your goodness and your real zeale four the publick good that you will endeavour all your power to finish these Besonies without wich all should be stopped. [*Papers Cong.*, 164, p. 5.]

THE BANNER OF THE LEGION.

On April 16, 1778, Pulaski visited Lafayette at the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem, Pa., where Lafayette, wounded at the Battle of Brandywine, had been taken to be cared for.

While there Pulaski, impressed with the excellence of the embroidery and needle work of the Moravian Nuns, gave these Sisters an order for a Banner. It was not a gift of the Sisters to the Count as might be believed from a reading of Longfellow's poem.

Pulaski again visited Bethlehem on May 18th. During the month which passed from his first visit the Sisters were engaged in making the Banner. Lossing [*Field Book*, II, p. 391] says it was sent by the Nuns "with their blessing" to Pulaski. But that is an error.

"For years it was received as a fact that it had been presented to Pulaski by the Moravian single Sisters of Bethlehem as a token of their gratitude for the protection Pulaski afforded them, surrounded as they were by a rough and uncouth soldiery. Recent investigations show that the General on visiting the Sisters' house, saw their beautiful embroidery and he then ordered a small cavalry banner for his Legion. The whole transaction was a simple business one." [*Pa. Archives; Pa. in Rev.*, II.]

When Pulaski fell wounded at Savannah, Captain Paul Bentalou, of Baltimore, aided in carrying the Count on board the brig "Wasp" and was with him when he died. Bentalou saved the banner. It was displayed in the procession in Baltimore when, in 1824, Lafayette visited that city. The banner remained in Peale's Museum until 1844 when Edmund Peale presented it to the Maryland Historical Society, where it yet remains. [*Catalogue,* p. 49.]

PULASKI'S BANNER.

On one side of the banner are the letters U. S. and, in a circle around them, the words *Unita Virtus Forti* or (United Valor is Stronger). On the other side, in the centre, is the All Seeing Eye, with the words, *Non Alius Regis* (No Other Governs).

Of this banner Longfellow wrote:

HYMN OF THE MORAVIAN NUNS AT THE CONSECRATION OF PULASKI'S BANNER.

When the dying flame of day
Through the chancel shot its ray,
Far the glimmering tapers shed
Faint light on the cowled head,
And the censer burning swung,
When before the altar hung
That proud banner, which, with pray'r,
Had been consecrated there;
And the Nun's sweet hymn was heard the while,
Sung low in dim mysterious Aisle.

"Take thy banner, may it wave
Proudly o'er the good and brave,
When the battle's distant wail
Breaks the Sabbath of our vale;
When the clarion's music thrills
To the hearts of these lone hills;
When the spear in conflict shakes,
And the strong lance, shivering, breaks.

"Take thy banner; and beneath
The war cloud's encircling wreath,
Guard it—till our homes are free—
Guard it—God will prosper thee!
In the dark and trying hour,
In the breaking forth of pow'r,
In the rush of steeds and men,
His right hand will shield thee then.

"Take thy banner. But, when night
Closes round the ghastly fight,
If the vanquished warrior bow,
Spare him—by our holy vow;
By our prayers and many tears;
By the mercy that endears;
Spare him—he our love hath shared;
Spare him—as thou wouldst be spared.

"Take thy banner; and, if e'er
Thou should'st press the soldiers bier,
And the muffled drum should beat
To the tread of mournful feet,
Then this crimson flag shall be
Martial cloak and shroud for thee!"
And the warrior took that banner proud,
And it was his martial cloak and shroud.

There was no "consecration," no formal presentation; there is no evidence of any sentimentality; no "censer burning," no hymning—nothing but cold making, selling and getting the goods.

An illustration, in colors, of the Banner may be seen in Volume II of *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution,* published by the State in 1891. A list of "Pennsylvanians in Pulaski's Legion" is also given in the same volume, pages 161-2. They are twenty-eight in number.

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CHAPTER XII.

WASHINGTON REBUKES PULASKI FOR ENLISTING DESERTERS.

On May 1, 1778, Washington wrote Pulaski:

I am exceedingly concerned to learn that you are acting contrarily both to a positive Resolve of Congress and my express orders, in engaging British prisoners for your Legionary Corps. When Congress referred you to me on the Subject of its composition, to facilitate your raising it, I gave you leave to enlist one third deserters in the foot, and was induced to do even that, from your assuring me that your intention was principally to take Germans, in whom you thought a greater confidence might be placed.

The British prisoners will cheerfully inlist, as a ready means of escaping, the Continental bounty will be lost and your Corps as far as ever from being complete. I desire therefore that the prisoners may be returned to their confinement, and that you will for the future adhere to the restrictions under which I laid you. The Horse are to be, without exception, natives who have ties of property and family connexions. I am sorry it is not in my power to grant your request relative to draughting four men Per Regiment for your Corps, as this would be branching ourselves out into different Corps without increasing our strength, and Men cannot conveniently be spared from the line at present. [*Letters,* B, V, 266.]

The Board of War, by Tim Pickering, Jr., on June 5, 1778, informed William Atlee, Esq., who had written the Board on June 2d relative to the enlistment of prisoners:

NOT TO ENLIST PRISONERS.

Your letter to Congress of the 2d instant has been referred to the board, the sense of Congress intimated at the same time, that prisoners of war should not be enlisted into *any* corps in the service of the United States The licence given Genl Pulaski to inlist prisoners, is to be considerd as recalled. The licence was founded on a supposed intention of Congress to permit the inlistment of prisoners into that particular corps. Prisoners were in fact included in the resolve (as originally drawn up) as well as deserters; and tho' the former were finally struck out; yet information given to the board led them to the determination mentioned in their former letter to you on the subject. [*U. S. Rev. MSS.,* IV.]

On June 6, 1778, Pulaski wrote Washington: "The Duty of the service keep me from presenting myself to your Excellency my homage. I send for this Purpose M. De Sigoine; he will have the honour to tell you what I want—their effect will depend upon your Goodness. I call on them." [*MS. Pa. His. Soc.*]

TO RETURN MARYLANDERS.

On June 13, 1778, Washington, by his Secretary, Robert H. Harrison, sent this order to Pulaski:

His Excellency having been informed by General Smallwood, that some of the Officers in your Legion have inlisted several men out of the Draughts and recruits belonging to Maryland, It is his order, that every man so inlisted be immediately returned and delivered to General Smallwood or any Officer of the Maryland Troops. [B, V, 385.]

UNRULY SOLDIERS.

On June 24th Washington ordered General Count Pulaski or Officer commandg his Legion, from Head Qurs Hopewell Township, June 24th 1778:

Captn Woelper of the Invalid Corps has lodged a complaint of a very serious nature against the conduct of some of the soldiers under your command. He informs me that they have abused a Serjeant of a guard and a prisoner under his care, Countenanced by a Mr Copitch. I desire that this mutinous disposition may be immediately inquired into, and if as represented, properly punished, and measures taken to prevent such behaviour in future. [B, V, 425.]

PULASKI TO COL. R. H. LEE.

WILMINGTON, August 13, 1778.

I arrived here two days ago, with all the cavalry, and expecting the infantry in four, will present myself with my corps to Congress, to pass the review in the end of this month, and pursue the enemy immediately after. I should have been very glad to be ready sooner, but I hope everybody shall be persuaded, that it is not the business of one day to raise and form a Corps. However, I heard the honorable Congress don't seem to be much satisfied with my application; I can't guess what may be the reason for it, for I always did all in my power to prove to them, that honour, and a true desire of distinguishing myself in defence of Liberty,

was the only motive which fired my breast, for the cause of the United States.

I do trust myself enough in your knowledge, to be in hopes, that you'll be kind enough to support me against the false pretentions which might have been made against me. C. PULASKI.

[*Life R. H. Lee,* I, 296. Original in Vol. II, p. 87, No. 26, of *Lee Corresp. Am. Philo. Soc.*]

On August 13th a letter from Pulaski was read in Congress and referred to the Committee "to enquire into the state of the Legion."

A month later, not having been ordered to active service against the enemy, Pulaski, in his impatience at the delay, came to Philadelphia and, on September 17th, thus addressed Congress:

Gentlemen—Do not be surprised at the liberty I take, in anouncing to ye the loss, in the retardin expedition of those who are actuated with every sentiment propitious to yer use. I am a Republican, which the love of glory, and the honour of supporting the Liberty of Union drew hither. I blush tho to find my Self languishing in a state of inactivity, animated with the zeal of serving ye, and the support of my reputation, urged me gentlemen to write ye. The request I now make is but my due, ye permited me to rease a Corps of partisans, my priviledge is to be directed by my experience for the most useful measures. Ye order that I shall wait near Philadelphia untill the opinion of the General in Chief of the Army be known with regard to me, why cannot I be admited to go on, and receive his advice on my march, since nothing here ought to detain me. The accounts of the detail belong to the treasurer, it will not be embaressing for me to acquit anything which shall appear superfluous, as I have expended sixteen thousand Dollars at least of my own. The revue is passed, there remains but for me to aske the payment of the Soldiers, and commissions for the officers, with permission to march for the enimy, that is what I take the liberty to request in waiting yer answer.

I have the honour to be with respect yer humble servant,

Philadelphie [Signed] C. PULASKI.
le 17 7bre, 1778.

Endorsement: Count Pulaski, 17 Sept., 1778. Recd. in Congress when the Treasury business was called for. [C. C. 164, p. 13.]

But orders to move were already on the way. On September 19, 1778, Washington, then at West Point, New York, directed Pulaski thus:

I think it will be proper for you to join the Army with your Corps, as there yet remain more than two months in which the Enemy may operate in the Field. However, you are not to proceed with it till you receive orders from Congress or the Board of War for the purpse. If Congress or the Board of War direct you to join the Army, you will proceed to Fredericksburgh on the East side of the North River, in the State of New York.

P.S.—If you are directed by Congress to proceed to the Army, and you hear as you pass thro' Jersey, that the Enemy have landed in that State, you will give General Maxwell every assistance you can with your Corps. [B, VI, 214.]

LOOK OUT FOR THE ENEMY.

Ten days later—29th September—Washington, at Fredericksburg, sent this order to Pulaski:

You are to proceed immediately upon the receipt of this, with your whole Corps both Horse and Foot and put Yourself under the command of Major General Lord Stirling, who will be in the Neighbourhood of Paramus. As the Enemy are out in considerable force in Jersey, near Hackensack, you will make particular enquiry of their situation as you advance, lest you should fall in with their parties. [*Ibid,* p. 257.]

CHAPTER XIII.

"THE AFFAIR AT EGG HARBOR," NEW JERSEY—REPORTS OF PULASKI AND CAPTAIN FERGUSON, THE BRITISH COMMANDER—THE DOUBLE DESERTER—MEMORIAL TABLET.

"THE AFFAIR AT EGG HARBOR."

While the British fleet kept watch of the port of New York and fairly well blockaded the Delaware Bay, debarring the entrance of supply vessels to Philadelphia, Egg Harbor, near Tuckerton on the New Jersey Coast, was a favorite resort of the American privateers, who preyed upon the British supply vessels going to New York. Their prizes were brought to the Harbor. The supplies were sent by way of Mullica Creek and from thence thirty-five miles of land carriage to Philadelphia. Lord Howe, the British fleet commander, hovering around New York and Delaware Bays, determined to break up this "nest of pirates." He sent, on September 30th, Captain Collins in command of a British vessel with Captain Patrick Ferguson with 400 men, many of whom were American loyalists, to attack and disperse "the pirates."

Learning of the departure of the British expedition, Washington, on October 4th, sent Pulaski's Legion and Proctor's artillery to "the Middle-of-the-Shore," a village on Pohatcong Creek, known, since 1786, as Tuckerton, where he arrived on the 8th "with all his troops in high spirits and with great alacrity." Pulaski made his headquarters at Willet's farmhouse which is still standing.

The *Pennsylvania Evening Post,* October 9, 1778, reported:

By accounts from Little Egg Harbour, we learn that on Tuesday afternoon the enemy landed about four or five hundred men out of the sloops and row gallies, which they had brought up Little Egg Harbour River as far as Capt. Pain's house, which they burnt with several vessels scuttled in that part of the river, the owners not having time to move them up higher. And it is thought they would have gone up to the Forks, in order to destroy the vessels there, if they had not discovered that Col. Proctor, with his artillery, had taken possession of an important post upon the river betwixt them and that place; and on Wednesday evening they embarked in great hurry and confusion, upon hearing that some American reinforcements were arrived. On Thursday morning the Conti-

nental forces, consisting of Col. Proctor's Artillery, Pulaski's Legion and New Jersey Militia were upon their march, to Great Egg Harbour, at which place it was expected the enemy would attempt to land. The Philadelphia Militia, on Thursday noon, were within sixteen miles of Little Egg Harbour, in high spirits.

How he fared is told by his letter to Henry Laurens, President of the Congress, a portion of which, by order of Congress, was published in Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet* of October 20, 1778. The whole report from the *Papers of Congress,* No. 164, page 17, is as follows:

Sir—For fear that my first letters concerning my engagement should miscarry or be delayd, and having other particulars to mention I thought proper to send you this Letter.

You must know that one Juliet an Officer Deserter from the Ennemys which was given me by the board of Warr to be at the suitte of my Legion deserted two days ago with three Men which he debauched and two others whoom they forced to follow them. The Ennemy excited without doubt by this Juliet attaked us the 15th inst. at three o'clock in the morning with 400 Men, they seem'd at first to attack our Pickets of Infantry with fury who lost a few Men in retreating, then the Ennemy marched to our Infantry. The Colonel the Baron de Bose who headed his Men and fought vigorously was killed with several Bayonet wounds as well as the Liut. de la Borderie and a small number of soldiers and others were wounded, this slaughter would not have ceased so soon if on the first Alarm I had not hastned with my Cavalry to protect the infantry which then kept a good countenance the Ennemy soon fled in great disorder and left behind them a great quantity of Arms Accoutrements hats Blades &ca. We took some Prisoners and should have taken many had it not been for a swamp thro which our Horses could hardly walk notwithstanding this we still advanced in hopes to come up with them, but they had taken up the Flanks of a Bridge for fear of being taken, which accordingly saved them, however my Light Infantry and particularly the Company of Riflemen got over some of the remains of the Plank and fired some Volies on their Rear, the Fire began again on both sides we had the advantage and made them run again altho they were more in Number. I would not permit my hunters to pursue any further because I could not assist them, and they returnd again to our

line without any loss at that time. Our loss is esteem'd Dead wounded and absent at about 25 or 30 Men and some Horses that of the Ennemy appears to be much more considerable; We had cut off the retreat of about 25 Men which have retired in the Country and the Woods and we can't find them, the general opinion is that they are concealed by the torys which are very numerous in the neighbourhood of this encampment.

None but the Legion were engaged, Major montfort had been sent to the Forks to gather and bring the Militia but half of them were gone home and the remainder form'd so many difficulties that they allmost mutinied against Major Montfort, and I am informed that even the Colonel who commanded and lives at the Forks wanted to use him in a Cruel manner.

I must add that I am continually allarmed by partys of Torys who seem to make a sport of it, and who in all appearance make use of all oppertunities to Injure us, two Men who Guided the Ennemy and were taken in that occupation I have ordered to Trentown with some Prisoners and Arms.

Count Montfort has assured me that the inhabitants towards Leads point are good Whigs and are attached to the common cause and are about 250 Militia all inhabitants, at Big Egg harbour there is 400 Militia. I shall be at last forced to search the houses and take the Oath of Fidelity from the Inhabitants otherwise I shall be continually exposed. I shall endeavour to discover those who come at the Ennemys whose retreat we cut off, altho it will be dangerous, for the Torys have sometimes fired on my Patroles, my Orderly serjeant even liked to have been killed by the Torys last Night, but be assured I will neglect no means to contain them and at the same time stop the Ennemy. I have the honour to be Your &ca.

PULASKI.

P.S.—The Ennemy attacked only my Fort at little Egg harbour. I beg you would order the Militia to be obedient, or take them away intirely. For they are so ill inclined that they will only spoil our affairs, besides they disperse and retire when they please, and particularly when they are wanted to face the Ennemy.

[Translation from an accompanying original.]

Endorsement: Count Pulaski
16 October 1778. Recd. 17th.
Committed to the Committee of Intelligence

BRITISH REPORT.

Report of Captain Ferguson to Sir Henry Clinton, Little Egg Harbour, October 15, 1778:

Sir—We had information by a Captain and six men of Pulaski's legion, who had deserted to us, that Mr. Pulaski had cantoned his corps, consisting of three companies of foot, three troops of horse, a detachment of artillery, and one brass field piece, within a mile of a bridge, which appeared to me easy to sieze, and from thence to cover our retreat; I prevailed upon Captain Collins to enter into my design, and employ an idle day in an attempt which was to be made with safety and with a probability of success. Accordingly, at eleven last night, two hundred and fifty men were embarked and after rowing ten miles landed at four this morning, within a mile of the defile, which we happily secured, and leaving fifty men for its defence, pushed forward upon the infantry, cantoned in three different houses, who are almost entirely cut to pieces. We numbered among their dead about fifty, and several officers, among whom we learn, are a Lieutenant Colonel, a Captain and an Adjutant. It being a night attack, little quarter could, of course, be given, so that there are only five prisoners; as a rebel, Colonel Procter, was within two miles with a corps of artillery, two brass twelve-pounders, one three-pounder, and the militia of the country, I thought it hazardous, with two hundred men, without artillery or support, to attempt anything further.

The rebels attempted to harass us in our retreat but with great modesty, so that we returned at our leisure, and reimbarked in security.

The Captain who has come over to us is a Frenchman named Bromville. He and the deserters inform us that Mr. Pulaski has, in public orders, lately directed no quarter to be given; and it was therefore with particular satisfaction that the detachment marched against a man capable of issuing an order so unworthy of a gentleman and a soldier.

PAT. FERGUSON,
Capt. 70th Regt.

P.S.—We had an opportunity of destroying part of the baggage and equipage of Pulaski's Legion, by burning their quarters, but

as the house belonged to inoffensive Quakers who, I am afraid, may have sufficiently suffered already in the confusion of the night's scramble the injury to be thereby done the enemy would not have compensated for the sufferings of these innocent people.

"Pat. Ferguson" was Scotch. Many Scotch were in Colonial days named Patrick.

THE DOUBLE DESERTER.

It may be noticed that Pulaski names the chief deserter and instigator of the British attack as one "Juliet," while Ferguson calls him "Bromville." As he had deserted in 1777 from one of the Hessian Regiments, he may have given the name "Juliet" to the Americans. His report to Ferguson that Pulaski had issued a "No Quarter" order was false, if made, though it is a possibility that Ferguson may have invented the lie as a justification of his own action so "unworthy of a gentleman and soldier," but worthy of "No Flint" Grey, the murderer of Paoli and other scenes of massacre.

The Baron de Bosen, Lieutenant-Colonel of Pulaski's Legion, did not admire "Juliet" and showed him no respect whatever. So that the death of the Baron was imputed to the deserter as an act of revenge.

"The loss of the Legion, as reported by Pulaski, was about 40 men killed, wounded and missing. The surprise was complete and it would seem that De Bosen was not as vigilant as his exposed situation required. It was hardly possible, however, to guard against such an act of treachery; and the catastrophe afforded a most convincing proof of the impolicy of enlisting or employing deserters." [Sparks.]

"Such expeditions only tended to arouse the Americans and express the most determined hatred towards their oppressors. They uttered vows of vengeance which they sought in every way to execute." [McLean's *Highlanders in Am.*, p. 351.]

COMMEMORATIVE TABLET.

The Society of the Cincinnati of New Jersey in 1878 on the centennial anniversary of "The Affair at Egg Harbor" erected a tablet with this inscription:

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY
THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI IN THE
STATE OF NEW JERSEY
TO COMMEMORATE THE MASSACRE
OF A PORTION OF THE LEGION COMMANDED
BY BRIGADIER GENERAL THE COUNT
CASIMIR PULASKI OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY
IN THE AFFAIR AT EGG HARBOR,
NEW JERSEY, OCTOBER 15, 1778,
IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

CHAPTER XIV.

LIEUTENANT ST. ELME—ORDERS OF CONGRESS TO PULASKI—HIS REPORTS—SENT TO MINISINK—THINKS OF RETURNING TO POLAND — "NOTHING TO DO" — ORDERS OF WASHINGTON — SUPPLIES.

LIEUTENANT ST. ELME.

Among those engaged in "the affair at Egg Harbor" was Lieutenant Gérard de St. Elme. In the following February (1779), being desirous of returning to France, he petitioned Congress to give him the rank of Major by brevet. From the report of the Board of War presented Congress February 13th, we learn "he enjoyed in France the commission of Lieutenant of Cavalry; that before his embarkation for America he received the Commission of Captain; that on his passage he was taken and carried to London, from whence he went to Bordeaux, where he again embarked for America, taking with him arms, accoutrements and clothing for supplying the troops of the United States, to the amount of 30,000 livres; but being chased by a British frigate, and in danger of being taken, the Captain ordered the whole to be thrown overboard to secure the vessel and residue of her cargo from condemnation. That they were obliged to steer for the Cape, whither the frigate accompanied them. That from the Cape he came to the States and at last campaign served as a volunteer in the corps of Count Pulaski; Congress having been pleased to give him the brevet of Lieutenant to serve him in case of being made a prisoner. That he went with that corps to Egg Harbor where in the skirmish with the enemy he behaved with bravery and had his horse killed with a bayonet. That he was served at his own expense; nor asks now for any pecuniary compensation. That at length finding it impracticable upon the reformation of the American Army, to obtain a post wherein he could serve with utility to the States and honor to himself, he proposes to return to France; but prays for such testimony of his deserts as Congress shall think him entitled to; he wishes to be gratified with the brevet rank of Major."

The Board of War stated the above facts to Congress and reported: That Mons. Gérard de St. Elme, having manifested great zeal in the service of these States; having also made a campaign here and behaved with bravery and now being about to return to France,

Resolved, That he be appointed to the rank of Major by brevet, as a testimony of the approbation of Congress of his zeal and services. [*Papers Congress,* No. 147, III, folio 46.]

The following abstract of letters of Pulaski to the President of Congress indicate the course of events.

Pulaski to the President of Congress:

1778, Oct. 10. Dated Stafford. Miscarriage of his former letters; describes the landing of the British at Osborn's Island and the surprise of the militia posted there; Pulaski with his legion drives back the enemy in confusion but was checked in his pursuit by the destruction of a bridge by the retreating British; the legion's loss in killed and wounded amounted to about 22; expects no assistance from the militia; intends moving his legion toward Barnegate.

1778, Oct. 21. Dated Little Egg Harbor. Intends stopping at Barnegate until the enemy, now retiring, have gone; his corps much fatigued and need blankets; encloses several oaths of allegiance of inhabitants.

[The blankets were furnished.]

Dated 1778, Oct. 24. Trenton. Requests a captain's commission for his Q. M. Mr. Sulina; requests Congress to grant commissions to three volunteers who behaved extremely well during the late affair.

1778, Oct. 26. Trenton. Thinks a flying corps could be advantageously posted near Kings Bridge and suggests his being stationed there; march of his legion to join the main army; maintains that a partizan corps is most effective when acting independently of the main army.

That day—October 26th—Congress

Resolved, That Count Pulaski's Legion and all the Cavalry At or near Trenton be ordered forthwith to repair to Sussex Court House there to wait the Orders of Genl Washington, and that the President write a Letter to the General informing him of this Resolution and Pointing out the Necessity of Ordering the Cavalry to Some Place or places where they may be easily Supplied with Forage. [*Letters,* 1778, Vol. LXLI, 214.]

On November 3, 1778, Pulaski was in Philadelphia, when he wrote Congress requesting a commission of Lieutenant for Count

de Maubon, and related his sufferings on the New York Prison Ship and his military experience.

Pulaski to President of Congress from Trenton:

1778, Oct. 27. Complaints made against behavior of his corps; difficulty of a defense from the prejudice that exists against foreigners; accusations of thefts by his men when they were suffering for want of necessaries that were not furnished them; their station in a tory community; firings upon his sentries at night by unknown persons; the accusations are made by people of tory sympathies; will furnish certificates to disprove charges of misbehavior of his men at Baltimore and Easton; desires nothing so much as being justified in the eyes of Congress; and an opportunity to show the valor of his men.

Pulaski proceeded, as Congress had ordered, to Sussex Court House from where, on November 6, 1778, he reported to Washington:

PULASKI REPORTS TO CONGRESS.

I have the honour to send you my Rapports by Mr. Gérard. I did wish to do it myself; but the Indisposition in wich I am since several Days hinders me.

I am here without forrage; if that is to last long the horses will suffer great deal.

I shoul'd wish before my depparture for Europe to be to some Service; If it will please you my General you may furnish me with the Occasion.

I expect here your Orders. [*Ibid*, Vol. XXVIII, 263.]

SENT TO THE INDIAN FRONTIER.

The massacre by Indians at Cherry Valley and the hostile attitude of the Tories and Indians in New York required the presence of a force in that section for the protection of the frontiers. Accordingly, Pulaski and his Legion were ordered to the Minisink on the Delaware River in Northwestern New Jersey. There they remained three months. Washington's orders were thus expressed from Poughkeepsie, 10 November, 1778:

Your favour of the 6th was delivered to me at Fishkill by Mr. Gerard. I am sorry your indisposition deprived me of the pleasure of seeing yourself.

Upon consulting Govr. Clinton, of the State of New York, upon a position, in which your Corps can be employed to advantage,

and at the same time be plentifully subsisted in the Article of Forage, he advises the Minisink settlement upon Delaware. You will therefore be pleased to march immediately for that place, and take your Station as near Cole's Fort as you conveniently can. Let your Cavalry and Infantry be quartered as near together as possible, that you may, in case the Indian Enemy make any attempt upon the settlement, draw your force quickly together. I must beg you to make use of all means to keep your Corps from marauding or in any way distressing the Inhabitants, who will cheerfully contribute every thing to your support if properly demanded. There are two Gentlemen of particular influence in that Country, Mr. Depuit and Mr. Van Camp, who will assist you very much in procuring Forage and other necessaries. [B, VII, 32.]

PULASKI HOPES TO RETURN TO POLAND.

On November 15, 1778, Pulaski reported in French to Washington. The pith of his communication was:

He informs that he will march towards Colefort, but will halt at Rosecrantz till further orders, as his horses are in want of refreshment—Suffered much while employed at Egg Harbour—did not fare well at Sussex—and as there is good forage at Rosecrantz and none at Coles fort on the other side the Delaware that place having been burnt by the Indians—He observes if he is to make an attack upon the Indians he must take a little time to recover force and gain information; if he is to take his quarters Coles fort for the reason above assigned appear to him an improper place—Rosecrantz a good one—and near enough for defence. He is however ready to obey—He hopes that having conducted his legion to its destination you will permit him to go to Philadelphia, as the war being kindled in Europe in the neighborhood of his o[torn in MS.] country and near an end here he w[blurred] to return in hope of an opportunity of [torn] making head once more against his [torn] enemies.

All he wishes is to leave his corps in such a state that it may be of service and gain him the approbation to this country. He is happy to have been able to contribute, though in a very small degree to aid Yr. Excellys. effort for establishing a new republic. He flatters himself that his disinterestedness and zeal will have gained him some share in your esteem which is all he desires. He recommends Conl. Colkouski as a brave and useful officer who served

under him in Poland. Request he may be placed in his legion with the Rank of Capt.—the pay of a lieutenant and to do the duty of one 'till he can have an opportunity of making himself known. [Vol. XXIX, 4.]

Pulaski though animated with the desire of again attempting to aid Poland was destined to give his services and his life to our Country.

On November 26, 1778, he wrote Congress that "He desired to be employed near the enemy's lines and finds himself placed in a wilderness where there is nothing but bears to fight; fears he will lose his horses as there is no forage."

Washington replied on 24th of November to Pulaski's letter of 15th, saying:

WASHINGTON PRAISES PULASKI.

If I have a right idea of your situation at Rosecrantz it will fulfil the object intended. Cole's Fort appeared a good position for covering a considerable part of the frontier; but any place in the vicinity of it, will answer the purpose as well; and as the circumstances you mention, make that particular Spot inconvenient on the score of subsistence, You will either remain where you are or choose for yourself such other position in the neighbourhood as appears to you best adapted to the accommodation of your Corps.

The motives which incline you to leave this Country, at the present juncture, are laudable. When you have arranged the affairs of your Corps, you have my consent to go to Philadelphia as you propose. I assure you Sir, I have a high sence of your Merit and services and the principles that influenced the part you have taken in the affairs of this Country. The disinterested and unremitted zeal you have manifested in the Service gives you a title to the esteem of the Citizens of America, and have assured you mine.

I gave Count Kolkowski a Letter to Congress in which I communicated your request.

I have ordered Colo. Spencer with his Regiment Colo. Armand with his Corps and Captn Schott with a party under his command, to join you as speedily as possible; The more effectually to enable you, or the Officer commanding to repel any attempts of the Enemy in the Quarter where you are.

As you have signified to me your intention to return to Europe

immediately, I have ordered Brigadier Genl. Hand to repair to Minisink and take the command. [B, VII, 104.]

Pulaski, on 23d November, 1778, reported to Washington:

NOTHING TO DO.

MINNESINK, Novr. the 23d, 1778.

Dear General—Agreeable to your orders to me while at Sussex Court-house, I marched the legion to that Place and find the Indian Enemy have Retired near one-hundred miles from this—from which it Appears, that there will be Nothing for us to do—on Examining the Country I find it will Be impossible to Support the Cavalry with Forage Many Days; the Persons Appointed for that Purpose having Delivered me the Enclosed address which will account for the matter—My Reasons for not marching to Coles Fort the Place pointed out by you; are that there is neither Inhabitants Nor Forage for our subsistance—and the Gentlemen to whom you refer me for assistance in that Country Live thirty miles below this Post and have Not Procured one dock of Nag or Bushel of grain—the People from the Back Country having Fled to this Settlment among their friends our stay here will greatly distress the whole. I therefore should be glad your Excellency would Remove my Corps to some other Post—in the meantime should be glad of your Excellencys Leave of Absence to Philadelphia to settle some Accompts of the Legion.

To which, on November 26th, Washington replied:

I shall only add to what I have already said on the subject, that you will keep your Cavalry as near as you can to the place first pointed out, consistent with a proper supply of forage and subsistence without too much distressing the already distressed inhabitants. If this cannot be done where you now are, you will remove them to some other place.

If your Cavalry must be sent to any considerable distance, your Infantry can still remain in the vicinity of Cole's Fort. General Hand will soon be at the Minisinks, whose knowledge of the Country will be useful in making a proper disposition of the troops. The inclosed Letter to him is to be delivered on his arrival. [B, VII, 120.]

To Congress Pulaski wrote on December 3, 1778, from "Menesing": Intention of invading the Indian country; need of surgical

instruments; endorse Capt. Baldeski's accounts; Pulaski will not charge against the United States the money he has advanced; need of Lt. Col. Bedeau to exercise the men while in winter quarters.

The next day he wrote: Impossibility of continuing the legion here from lack of forage for the horses; postpones his intention of going to Europe now that there is a chance of military activity; regrets being obliged to complain at delay in settlement of his accounts; begs for any kind of a settlement so it is at once.

Washington, on 7th December, 1778, from Paramus, wrote Pulaski:

SUPPLIES SENT PULASKI.

PARAMUS, 7th Decemr., 1778.

The spare Ammunition of the Army having gone on with the park of artillery to Pluckemin, I have given an order to have a proper supply sent on from thence. I have likewise given an order on the Clothier General, for one hundred shirts. We have already made a distribution of what Blankets were upon hand. The Board of War are taking measures to procure a further quantity when you shall have a proportion.

The badness of the Roads at this Season will render the transportation, of even a very light piece of cannon, difficult. I have therefore declined sending it up at present; but should any offensive operation be determined upon, and it should be thought practicable to carry a piece or two of light Cannon thro the Woods, they can be sent up with more convenience when the Roads are hardened by the Frost.

I have directed the German Battalion to be stationed at Easton, with a view of ordering them to the Frontier should their assistance be needed. I have thought it better to let them remain there until wanted, than to send them up to consume your Stores which I imagine are not very ample. I expect by the time this reaches you General Hand will have arrived.

WASHINGTON'S ORDER TO PULASKI.

Washington, on 16th December, sent this order "To the Officer Commanding Count Pulaski's Corps, Easton":

I am informed by the Qr. Mr. General that you have returned to Easton with the Horse of Count Pulaski's and Col. Armands Corps, not being able to procure Forage at Minisink or in that

Neighbourhood. It will not be possible for you to remain at Easton, without the greatest inconvenience to the Service, as you must consume that Forage which is necessary for the Teams upon the communication and a great deal of that which is intended for this Camp. Colo. Hooper the Deputy Qr. Mr. General has directions to Canton the Horse under your command, in such places as he shall find least liable to the objections above mentioned, you will therefore be directed intirely by him and remove to such place as he shall point out. That no more Forage may be consumed than is absolutely necessary, you are to divest yourself of all Supernumerary Waggon and Baggage Horses and of all Dragoon Horses unfit for service, which are to be delivered up to Colo. Hooper who will dispose of them in a proper manner. You are to take particular care that the Officers atend to their Men and Horses, that they may be kept in good order and ready to be collected for service at a moment's warning. [B, VII, 178.]

CHAPTER XV.

CAPTAIN O'NEILL OF DILLON'S IRISH-FRENCH REGIMENT—PULASKI ORDERED SOUTHWARD—THE LEGION—PULASKI DISSATISFIED.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER O'NEILL.

Among the *Papers of the Continental Congress,* No. 41, Vol. VII, p. 216, is the following Memorial of an Irish-Frenchman who had served under Pulaski in Poland, who had come to America to again serve Liberty under his "old Commander, Poland's pride."

To the honourable the Congress:

Alexander O'Neil, born in the Irish Regiment of Dillon in the French Service from Whence he Draws a yearly pension With the commission of a Captain, has made two Campaigns in flanders Six in germany, and Since Served in the War in Poland under the command of Marshall Count Pwlausky Where he has been made a Major and has followed the same general to the Levant Where he has been made Lt. Collonel of the black huzzard; and finding no means of making War in Europe or in asia he has taken a passage to america intending to have the hounour of Serving the united states of america. his arrival at Newbern in north Carolina, he Was made a captain in the Regiment of colonel Chariot Witch has been Lately Reformed; as he desires to shew to the hounourable the Congress that he will not be loadsome he beseechs them to grant him a prferment Whatsoever in the Corps of Count Pwlausky under the Protection of the august Congress.

O'Neill.

Accompanying the Memorial were certificates from Pulaski and from Colonel Chariot. Pulaski declared:

"I know that in all the terms of service and duties that Col. O'Neill has fulfilled he has conducted himself with fortitude, bravery and distinguished merit. I have the honor to recommend him to every one, wheresoever he will be able to show his value and his talents and to obtain the high regard of the Military authorities."

Colonel Chariot certified that O'Neill had served as Captain "with distinction" and possessed "distinguished merits." This was signed at Philadelphia, 4 January, 1779. O'Neill's Memorial was read in Congress, January 5, 1779, and "order taken thereon."

The "order taken" was: "*Resolved,* That Congress have a grateful sense of Mr. O'Neil's services but that they cannot accept of the said offer." On March 1st, however, Congress altered its attitude toward O'Neill and "*Resolved,* That Mons. O'Neill be appointed Captain of Infantry in Pulaski's Legion."

This may have been because military operations in the South were becoming active and Pulaski had been ordered there.

PULASKI ORDERED TO DELAWARE.

On January 19, 1779, Washington sent this order to Pulaski:

The Scarcity of Forage in this State, renders it absolutely Necessary to remove the Cavalry of your Legion, as well as all the Horses belonging to it, that are not indispensably Necessary for the Duty of Officers, and the Ordinary occasions of drawing Fuel, &c.

The Quarter Master recommends the Counties of Kent and Sussex as the best Place for them to be during the Winter. You will therefore find an Order to have the Cavalry, and all the Supernumerary Horses belonging to the Corps, in General, marched to Wilmington, . . . Where proper directions will be lodged for their further progress by Mr. Q. M. Wade, who is charged with the Business of cantoning them.

You will of course give instructions to the Commanding Officer to preserve the strictest Discipline on the March and in Quarters, that the Inhabitants may have no Reason to complain of licentious conduct in the Soldiers.

Frank Wade, Deputy Quartermaster at Wilmington, Delaware, 27th January, 1779, wrote to General Greene at Middlebrook, New Jersey:

"Since my return to my station at this place, I have not heard of Gen. Pulaski or any of his Legion. I have, however, forwarded the General's letter to the Governor of this State with the necessary instructions to the gentlemen acting below to be prepared to receive them and I propose going down when they arrive." [*Greene Corres.,* II, 82; p. 233 in *Am. Philo. Soc.*]

Jan. 23, 1779. Congress took into consideration letter from Count Mountfort, Major in Col. Pulaski's Regiment, desiring leave to resign his commission, in order to return home, on account of his private affairs.

Congress accepted resignation and allowed rations for two

months, provided he shall not embark before the expiration of that time.

Feb. 7, 1779. Philadelphia. Silas Deane to Franklin in Paris: "Count Montford will do himself the honor of waiting on you with this letter. He has served and acquired a good reputation in our army. He served immediately under Count Pulaski and has rose from a voluntier to the rank of Major when his private affairs obliged him to retire, he resigned his commission and was honorably dismissed." [*Deane Papers,* III, 346.]

PULASKI ORDERED SOUTH.

On February 2, 1779, Congress *Resolved*, That Count Pulaski be ordered to march with his Legion to South Carolina and put himself under the command of General Lincoln, as the commanding officer of the Southern Department.

The Legion was then at York Town, Pa. The Route by which the Legion was to proceed to Savannah, Georgia, as arranged by Charles Pettit, Assistant Quartermaster-General, was:

Route of General Pulaski's Legion from York Town in Pennsylvania to Savannah in Georgia: From Yorktown to Winchester to Staunton, Virginia. Diggs's Ferry on Dan to Guilford Court House to Salsbury to Charlotte, North Carolina. Campden to Congaree to Purrisburg, South Carolina.

This route is formed on the Advice of the Honble. John Penn, Member of Congress for North Carolina, and Mr. Avery, the Attorney General of that State, and is supposed to be not only the shortest way but the most likely to afford the necessary Supplies of Provisions and Forage.

Mr. Avery recommends in case Assistance from the Country should be wanted, that the officers apply to Col. Nathaniel Hart and Col. John Williams, of Caswell County; Charles Bruce & Mr. Lindsay, Members of the House of Commons in Guilford County; Mr. Montgomery at Salsbury; Mr. James Brandon & Mr. James King of Rowan, and to inquire of Mr. Matthew Lock for a proper person to apply to in Mechlenburg. CHAS. PETTIT,

Philadelphia, 11 February, 1779. A. Q. M. Genl.

[*Greene Corresp. Am. Philos. Soc.,* IV, No. 80.]

The same day Colonel Clement Biddle, Forage Master General, at Philadelphia, wrote General Greene, at Middlebrook, New Jersey:

"Pulasky Legion are collected at York Town and we are

waiting for money from the Treasury to send a person off to supply them on the road. I shall also write to the D. Q. M. G. in Georgia relative to the Forage Department." [*Ibid.*]

Pettit, on February 15th, from Philadelphia, wrote to Greene at Middlebrook, New Jersey:

"Considering the Route I find it necessary for Genl. Pulaskie to take, I think it expedient to send a Person to proceed him as a Qur. Master & Forager the whole of the way. But as this Person must act independently of the Deputies, going through an entire new Country, he must have a sufficient supply of money with him and cannot set out till that is obtained." [*Greene Corres.*, IV, No. 82.]

On February 21, 1779, to Greene he also wrote:

"Count Pulaski is yet in Town waiting to settle his accounts as he alledges he is considerably in advance of Congress. I have however sent off Mr. Faicet with Money & Instructions to provide for the Legion. I was at much Pains in settling the Route & Plan & at length concluded on what I thought clear conviction to send them by way of Winchester & between the Mountains." [*Greene Corres.*, IV, No. 75.]

On February 4, 1779, Congress *Resolved*, That the Commander in Chief be directed to give the necessary orders for recruiting the corps commanded by General Count Pulaski and Colonel Armand respectively, to their full complement of infantry, to be enlisted for the war, and to receive the Continental bounties granted to the rest of the infantry.

Uncertainty as to the meaning of this Resolution caused Congress on the 12th to take action on a letter and report from the Board of War relative to Count Pulaski and Colonel Armand's corps. Congress *Ordered*, That Congress only means that the infantry of these corps be recruited to their original establishment.

On February 5th, a letter of Pulaski to Congress was read and referred to the Board of War. [It is in *Papers of Congress*, 164, folio 84.] It referred to the settlement of his accounts and was, by Congress on February 12th, referred to the Board of the Treasury to "take such immediate order therein as they shall deem proper."

ADDITIONS TO THE LEGION.

On February 6th the Board of War reported recommending: "That the Corps late Ottendorf's (now commanded by Captain Schott) be annexed to and march with Count Pulaski's Legion."

CHAPTER XVI.

MOVING SOUTHWARD—CAPTAIN CELERON—PULASKI'S CHOICE.

"PUT THE TROOPS IN MOTION."

The following order to Pulaski was issued by Washington from Headquarters, Middlebrook, February 8, 1779:

In Consequence of the Resolution of Congress of the 2d Instant, directing your Legion to South Carolina, to act under the Command of Major General Lincoln, or the Commanding Officer of the Southern department; I have ordered the Infantry of your Corps, which were stationed at the Minisink, to march immediately to Lancaster in Pennsylvania.

You will be pleased to inform yourself of the nearest route to your Place of destination, and put the Troops in Motion as soon as Possible. I make no Doubt, but that you will give such Orders as may seem best calculated to facilitate the March, without over fatiguing the Men or rendering the Horses unfit for Service, as well as do everything in your Power to keep the Men together, and prevent the destruction of Property.

Congress by a Resolve of the 4th Instant direct the Recruiting of your Corps of infantry to its full Compliment. But for Powers and Money for this Purpose, I must refer you to that Honourable Body. When you have obtained these, you will proceed in the Execution of the Business. The present established Bounty is 200 Dollars to every Man enlisting for the War, and Land and Cloathing after passing Muster, besides the usual allowances, and 20 Dollars to the Officer for every Man recruited, under this description; To this is added three Dollars per Day to the Officer on the Service, as a compensation for extra Services.

The detached Corps under Capt. Schott cannot be spared at this Time, you will be pleased to give Orders to the Horse of your Legion to proceed with your Infantry.

P.S.—You will disencumber the Troops of all Baggage, which you can spare and carry only such as cannot be dispensed with. [B, VIII, 56.]

Pulaski to Congress, 1779, Feb. 12, Philadelphia. Has been referred to Congress by Washington; it is necessary that he be authorized to recruit his legion and be given authority to draw clothing and stores at Charleston; need of caps, rifles and saddles;

desires to start at once [Southward]; requests settlement of his accounts.

On February 13th, Congress Resolved on report of Board of War. That Brigadier General Pulaski be authorized, as casualties happen, to recruit men to keep up the infantry of his corps to its original establishment and that a warrant for 50,000 dollars be drawn in favor of the pay-master of the Board of War, or his order, from time to time, for the purpose before mentioned, and to re-inlist during the war the men of his corps, whose times are about expiring; he to be accountable for the sums he shall from time to time receive.

Resolved, That all the men, inhabitants of these States, who shall be recruited in the corps of General Pulaski and Colonel Armand, in any of the United States, shall be credited to the quota of the States in which they shall be enlisted, they not being inhabitants of any other of the United States.

Resolved, That Colonel Armand and Brigadier General Pulaski, make returns to the Board of War of the recruits they shall inlist; and in such returns the places of the nativity and settlement, and the State wherein they were inlisted shall be particularly mentioned.

The report of the Board of War signed by Root, Lee, Pickering and Peters is in the *Papers of Congress,* No. 147, III, folio 55. It states that "General Pulaski's corps was chiefly inlisted for one year, and their times of course are now about expiring."

PULASKI DISSATISFIED.

In Congress, February 15, 1779, the Board of War reported:

"At the instance of General Pulaski we beg leave to represent to Congress that he is dissatisfied with the present situation of his corps on account of its numbers being too small for a command equal to his rank, or to answer the purposes required by the plan which induced him to apply for the raising of it. He says that on his agreeing to leave the command of the Horse he proposed to raise the Legion on the footing it was established by Congress; but that it was not intended he should *only* command this number of men in that Corps. He was to do detached duty with this corps, but a sufficient number of light troops from the Army was to be sent him from time to time, to enable him to act with his Legion in the partizan way and to support his enterprises. That it was intended he should have under his command all the Foreigners

particularly; and with this addition he should have had a respectable and useful body of troops. But as he is now ordered to the Southward this plan cannot take effect, and therefore it will be necessary to augment his Infantry to the number of a regiment, at least, as he cannot possess the advantages to the Southward he would have had, were he to serve with the Grand Army. He says too that he has Officers sufficient for the command of a regiment, and therefore it will not be more expensive to the public on the score of Officers, had he permission to encrease the number of privates. We have only related General Pulaski's representations to us, and to save time, if Congress should think these are sufficient reasons therefor. We beg leave to submit the following Resolution:

"That General Pulaski have permission and he is hereby directed to augment the Infantry of his Corps to the number of a regiment, and for this purpose, and also to enable him to re-enlist the men of his corps whose times are about expiring, a warrant be drawn in favor of the paymaster of the Board of War for the sum of to be paid to General Pulaski, or to his order, from time to time, as the Board shall deem expedient. He to be accountable for such sums as shall be paid him or his order."

The next day Pulaski, then in Philadelphia, wrote Congress: Urging haste in his affairs that he may start [to the Southward]; requests action on his petition to the Board of War to increase his infantry; his increasing personal expenses while he is compelled to stay in Philadelphia as he is obliged to keep his horses at his own expense; anxiety to start.

GO SOUTH "WITHOUT LOSS OF TIME."

On February 18, 1779, Pulaski sent Congress a letter which was that day acted on by this Resolve, "That the Board of War inform Count Pulaski that Congress direct him to join the Southern army without loss of time, and to enable him to do so, that the sum of 15,000 dollars be advanced to him out of the money lodged with the Board of War for the use of his Legion; for which he is to be accountable.

"That the paymaster of the said Legion repair to the main army and settle the accounts of the said Legion with the auditors and then proceed to join his Legion.

"That the Board of War also advance to Count Pulaski bounty money to recruit the Legion to its full complement of infantry, and

Count Pulaski make report thereof to the Board of War, that Congress may then, if necessary, give orders raising an additional number of recruits to be added to the said Legion."

In Congress, March 1, 1779, a memorial from George d'Ugglaa was read and referred to the Board of War which the same day reported thereon that General Pulaski has expressed his wish that Mr. d'Ugglaa should be appointed Adjutant of his Corps. The Board reported that he "be appointed a Lieutenant in the Legion commanded by General Count Pulaski." On the question the States were evenly divided and the question was lost.

The unruliness of the Legion during the absence of Pulaski is thus related by President Reed of Pennsylvania to the Continental Board of War under date of Philadelphia, March 8, 1779:

"Col. Smith has represented in very strong terms the abuse and distress of the subjects of this State by General Pulaski's Corps. Is Pennsylvania to be forever scoured by that undisciplined & irregular Corps without redress? Or must we be drove to actual violence and resistance? They forage indiscriminately & take whatever they want from the poor terrified inhabitants, many of whom strongly impressed by the terrors of military violence in Europe, submit to the spoiling of their goods & insult to their person without complaining, while others resent it in open clamour & complaint & will soon probably redress themselves.

"We had complaints sometime ago agt this Corps which we suppressed upon assurance from General Green that they should be removed from this State & they were actually on their way, when General Pulaski countermanded them. We do not know the reasons nor are they material, but we are resolved to submit no longer to such insupportable grievances.

"We expect your Board to take effectual measures for our relief & which we do not apprehend can be done but by removing them out of the State, as General Green promised." [*Pa. Ar.*, 1st Series, 230.]

The Board replied on the next day, saying that a copy of the above letter had been enclosed with its own to General Pulaski.

"The Count sometime since received orders to march to the Southward and had collected his corps at York Town from whence he will in a few days proceed; that the Board had an equal abhorrence of the abuse of military power and would discourage and prevent such irregular and oppressive practices." [*Ibid*, 232.]

To Pulaski the Board wrote, "relative to the conduct of your corps in your absence—the complaints demand a strict inquiry—the peace and quiet of the citizens as well as the honor of the Corps demand a stricter discipline—suggesting the necessity of European officers divesting themselves of European ideas while they serve in America. The inhabitants of these States are unused to the severe exertions of the military power and not violence and oppression from troops raised and supported at their own expense—some irregularities happen among all troops, but no charges are so pointed as those against the Legion. These matters must give you uneasiness. The services of the Legion are wanted at the Southward whither we desire it may be marched with all possible dispatch." [*Ibid,* 233.]

General Washington, 27 April, 1779, to President Reed of Pennsylvania, that to the notification that the "frontier of Pennsylvania is left unguarded and exposed, that the State had had its Northern frontier covered by Spencer's, Pulaski's and Armand's Corps."

The Board replied, 8th May, that "the idea of our receiving any protection from Armand's & Pulaski's Corps must have arisen from some misapprehension or mistake. We never derived the slightest benefit from them, but on the other hand are still smarting under their abuse and desolation." [*Pa. Ar.,* 1st Series, VII, 353, 378.]

CAPTAIN LEWIS CELERON.

A record of a Catholic Canadian, desirous of continuing to serve our country by joining Pulaski, is set forth in the proceedings of Congress, February 2, 1779:

The Board of War reported that having considered the Memorial of Captain Celeron, with the certificates enclosed referred to them by Congress, beg leave to observe: That they are convinced of Captain Celeron's Merit and that his long services entitled him to a consideration which many foreign Officers have been endulged with. Instead of attending chiefly to his personal interests, he had been almost constantly on duty in the field; and having served with reputation near two years with the rank of Captain first given him, he respectfully asks the promotion his services may be deemed to merit.

When he first went to the Northward with General Gates, in

1777, he left behind him in this city a considerable quantity of clothing, more than enough to supply his present wants; but the person to whose care they were committed went off with the enemy and carried Captain Celeron's effects with him. At the evacuation of Tyconderoga he lost all his clothes save those on his back. In this destitute condition, a stranger in the country, without connections, and without any resources but his pay of Captain, he prays that some gratuity may be granted him to enable him to equip himself with decency and propriety becoming his rank.

In case of an expedition to Canada he flatters himself he might be particularly useful; that being the place of his birth, and where his family were respectable. Until he can be otherwise employed, he desires to serve in General Pulaski's Corps as a volunteer.

From this view of his case the Board report:

That in consideration of his losses in the Service 1000 dollars be granted him to enable him to equip himself for future service.

That Captain Lewis Celeron, who has served near two years in the army of these States and distinguished himself as an active, brave and good officer be promoted to the rank of Major by brevet.

Congress Resolved to grant the 1000 dollars but that no brevet could be issued to any officer without the consent of nine States.

Pulaski, the same day—March 28th—wrote Congress as follows:

YORK TOWN, March the 28th, 1779.

Gentlemen—My March has been Stopt., at My arrival in this Town, by the absence of the Q. M. who was appointed by Colonel Petit, to provide, and pay the forrages for the Legion along the Road: However my inffantry went away from here, the 18th of this month, and I have sent to the board of war, a Copy of the orders, and instructions I gave, to be Observed during their march.

I will Set out this day with the Cavalry, which number is no more so Considerable as it was, having turned part of it to the inffantry. 336 men officers non Commissioned offrs, and Privates, are at Present the full number of my Legion, I have sent three of my Capts, to Recruit three Companys, and Compleated the others, with the number above mentioned.

Instead of fifty thousands Dollars you had ordered to be Delivered to me, to Reinlist the men of my Corps, and Recruit Some others when possible, I received but five and thirty. 168

of my men which was inlisted for one year only, are at present Reinlisted during the war, then you can See very Easily the Thirty five Thousands Dollars I Received, can't be sufficient, to supply me for the future, according to the Bounty Granted by the Last Resolved of the Hble Congress. I then beg of you, Gentlemen, to Order fifteen thousands Dollars more to be Delivered to Capt. Baldesqui Bearer of this, who Has already advanced to me part of said monney.

Events are, Gentlemen, Most always uncertain, but should the fate of arms, answer to the Good Dispositions of all the military persons, which Composes my Corps, I ought to believe I will have the Satisfaction, of announcing to you Some Good News from the field I am going to, and I hope also, time will show if I deserve the conffidence you have Honoured me with.

Nine Hundred Pounds of the monney printed the 20th of March, and 21st of April, was amongst my officers, and Privates, as that monney Could not be of no Service to them, and that they will surely want it in the Long Journey, we are Going to, I Desired Capt. Baldesqui to Give them Some other instead of it, being most Persuaded, you will be Kind Enough to order that monney to be charged back again to him by the Treasure.

PULASKI'S CHOICE.

Feb. 23, 1779, in Congress. Board of War on consideration Memorial of Mons. Capt. De R. Celeron reported: No way of providing for him but by promoting him to the majority of Gen. Pulaski's legion which they have no doubt of his filling with much reputation. But Gen. Pulaski has made choice of a Mons. Verney who is also an officer of merit and (both having come over with Marquis de Brittannie) Mon. Verney's expenses are borne by the Marquis and De Mauleon came over at his own expense which with the losses he has sustained amount to a considerable sum. Board would choose Mauleon but Pulaski desirous of having Verney. So matter is referred to Congress to determine. Congress *Resolved,* that Mons. Verne be appointed Major of Gen. Pulaski's Legion.

In Congress, April 5, 1779. A letter of Pulaski, March 28th, was read and referred to the Board of Treasury. It is in *Papers of Congress,* No. 164, folio 98.

In April, 1779, while Washington was at Valley Forge, an exchange of prisoners was agreed to with the British. The Commissioners met at Newtown, Pennsylvania, on 10th and 11th. Six dragoons under a Corporal were detailed to escort the American Commissioners. On the 9th Washington sent this order to Col. Stephen Moylan, commander of the cavalry after the resignation of Pulaski: "Brigadier General Pulaski is hereby authorized to draught from the regiment of Horse two privates of his own choice with their arms, horses and accoutrements and one Sergeant belonging to Sheldon's regiment."

CHAPTER XVII.

PULASKI AT THE SOUTH—TRUTH OR ERRORS, WHICH?—DOINGS OF PULASKI AT CHARLESTON—PULASKI "CHARMED WITH HIS CORPS."

In obedience to the Resolution of Congress of the 2d and of the 18th of February, that he should proceed to the South "without loss of time," Pulaski and his Legion, Lieutenant Bentalou relates:

"Departed for that long march and soon as every necessary preparation could be made, and reached Charleston at the very time when the British General Provost, having suddenly and rapidly advanced from Savannah, appeared before that City, on the 14th of May, 1779, in the confident expectation that it would surrender to him on the first summons. The unlooked for arrival of Pulaski baffled all his hopes. Already had the Governor and Council agreed on terms of capitulation, not the most honorable, when General Pulaski, accompanied by the brave Colonel Laurens, repaired to the Council chamber to protest against that precipitate measure—declaring that, as a Continental officer, he would defend the City for the United States. Provost was informed of that determination. Pulaski saw the necessity of reviving the drooping spirits of the inhabitants. Accordingly he sallied on with the Legion, who had just arrived. In that sortie, the Colonel of the Regiment was killed, but Provost abandoned his enterprise and retreated over the islands."

"Would any one believe," says Johnson in his *Remarks* (p. 25), "that there is scarcely a word of truth in all this paragraph?" That "it is not true that the 'sortie' had any influence in raising the spirits of the garrison, or frightening off Provost, but just the contrary. That it was an ill-judged, ill-conducted, disgraceful and disastrous affair."

Yet that Pulaski rendered very essential services at Charleston is shown by Gordon, the earliest historian of the Revolution. He says:

"Nine hundred of the British army, their main body being left on the south side of the Ashley river, crossed the ferry and soon appeared before the town. The same day Count Pulaski's legionary corps of infantry crossed Cooper river, to Charleston. They had scarcely arrived two hours, when he led eighty of them

out of the lines, and stationed them in a valley behind a small breastwork, with a view of drawing the British into an ambuscade. He advanced a mile beyond the infantry, and joined a party of regular horse, and mounted militia volunteers, and with that force engaged the British cavalry for a while and then retreated to the infantry; who from an eagerness to engage, had quitted their breastwork and so rendered abortive the advantage of the intended ambuscade, and were by superior numbers compelled to retreat. Pulaski, however, by discovering the greatest intrepidity, and by successful personal rencontres with individuals of the British cavalry, had considerable influence in dispelling the general panic and in introducing military sentiments into the minds of the inhabitants."

In this engagement was killed the Colonel commanding the Legion, Michael de Kawalz.

From the *Memoirs* of Major-General William Moultrie, Governor of South Carolina and General of the Army of the United States, may be derived a more particular account of the operations of Pulaski at this period and a clearer exposition of the military situation than is obtained from the recital of Lieutenant Bentalou or the denials of Judge Johnson.

General Moultrie, on May 16, 1779, from Charleston, made disposition of the troops on the lines. He ordered:

"The remainder of the 2d Regiment, with General Pulaski's infantry to occupy the half moon in the center as a corps de reserve; and to sally out upon the enemy from time to time, as the service may require, without breaking line; General Count Pulaski will be kind enough to take upon himself the charge of posting the army according to the above plan, and also the daily inspection of the whole during the siege." [*Memoirs,* I, 413.]

On May 11th General Moultrie recorded:

"This day Count Pulaski's infantry came into town from Haddrel's Point, the cavalry of his Legion came in with himself on the 8th. We this morning had advice that the enemy were near our lines. General Count Pulaski had paraded his Legion (about one hundred and twenty, and some militia) and attacked the advance of the British troops a little beyond the old race ground in sight of our advance guard; but he was soon overpowered; in this skirmish he lost his Col. [Kowatch] killed and most of his

infantry, killed and wounded and prisoners; and it was with difficulty the remainder got in, with our advance guard." [*Ibid,* 423.]

Notwithstanding this result, "his coolness, courage and disregard of personal danger, were conspicuous throughout the encounter, and the example of this prompt and bold attack had great influence in raising the spirits of the people and inspiring the confidence of the inexperienced troops then assembled in Savannah." [Sparks.]

Concerning the parley with the British General Provost, Moultrie records that the Governor and Council sent the proposition "to know on what terms a capitulation would be granted if inclined to Capitulate?"

On receiving a reply and that four hours would be granted for an answer, the Governor requested Moultrie to attend the Council and "bring Count Pulaski with me." General Pulaski and myself advised them not to give up the town; that we had men enough to beat the enemy and so did Col. Laurens. Pulaski had 150 men. It was decided to "give up the town on a neutrality." As this, if accepted by Provost, would include the Governor and Council as prisoners of war, Moultrie declared, "We will fight it out."

The next morning it was discovered that the enemy had retreated immediately after the conference was at an end. "The next morning, not seeing any of them, Count Pulaski went out on horseback and made two or three circuits at full speed; and not discovering any of them, returned in, and made his reports and then collected the cavalry and followed; but they had crossed the Ashley river before he got there; I had given orders to him to endeavor to find out where General Lincoln was, with his army."

It was an intercepted letter of General Lincoln which obliged the British to retreat. By it they discovered he was on his march with 4,000 men. Pulaski wrote Moultrie: "I shall remain here about the environs of Dorchester bridge. The 40 horse remaining are not in a state to furnish me with the least necessaries to form a party of observation; all the volunteers [militia] have left me; I do not know if those I left near the ferry, and other places, have made to you any report. I repeat to you, my General, that it is very necessary to fortify the town better, at present, we have the time, of course let us make use of it. I have sent all along the

river a patrole. The instant I receive any information of General Lincoln I will advance with my party.

General Lincoln to General Moultrie from Charleston, May 15, 1779: "All my intelligence of the enemy's movements hitherto has been from Count Pulaski who I suppose is now with you." He was by Moultrie ordered "to join the reserve."

On May 12th Captain Celeron and Lieutenant De la Close, of Pulaski's Legion, were captured but paroled.

The British account of this encounter is shown by the *Journal* of Brigade Major F. Skelly of the British forces operating against Charleston. He records:

"1779, May 12. Polaskey (a great partizan) had advanced his legion consisting of about a hundred foot and eighty Horse. The foot was posted behind a kind of Breastwork thro which was a large entrance. Polaskey with his horse (the best Cavalry the rebels ever had) advanced towards our Dragoons. Capt. Tawse charged them, intirely routed them, pursued them thro the Breastwork, attacked their foot and drove them to the woods. The Lt. Col. who commanded the foot was killed and 15 or 16 of his men. In all they lost between 40 and 50 men. Our loss 3 dragoons killed and 3 wounded." [*Mag. Am. His.*, Aug., 1891, p. 153.]

The way this affair was reported to the Northward we learn from the letter of Governor George Clinton, of New York, written from Poughkeepsie to his brother, General James Clinton:

"The accounts from the Southward are favorable tho they are not officially received, yet we have sufficient reason to believe them to be true. Count Pulaski surprized the advance party of the enemy six miles from Charlestown, took 100 prisoners."

Another contemplated action of Pulaski was "countermanded," as we learn from letter of June 1, 1779, of General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to General Lincoln:

"I think it exceedingly fortunate that you countermanded Count Pulaski's intended attack at Wappo as from every account the enemy were very well posted behind entrenchments and in readiness to receive him."

CHARMED WITH HIS CORPS.

On July 23, 1779, in Congress was read a letter of June 4th from Pulaski. The part relating to money matters was referred

to the Board of Treasury and the letter to the Board of War. The letter in French is in *Papers of Congress,* No. 164, folio 102, the translation in English is at page 106. It reads:

JACKSONBOROUGH ROAD, 6 MILES FROM
STONE FERRY, June 4th, 1779.

General Lincoln will inform you of the Detail concerning my Corps. For myself I am charmed with being able to inform you in particular that the Conduct of my Corps in Country is as useful as it was displeasing, in Pennsylvania. I am vexed at their cowardly proceeding and scorn them enough not to desire to be revenged. I will send, by order of the General, my Accounts to the Auditor of the Army. I have lost about 40 men on the Fields of Battle. I have as many Deserters, I have yet 180 Men. There are but few who are not engaged for the War. The Money which I received for the enlistment of them is not sufficient. I have expended 12,000 Pounds [Dollars] for the Detail. You will be pleased Gentlemen to make an advance to my Treasurer and he will send the sum hither.

The British having abandoned the attack on Charleston, proceeded to reinforce Savannah where the Loyalists of Georgia had, in 1778, organized under General Provost who came from St. Augustine, Florida. General Lincoln, with the aid of the French fleet, attempted the capture of the city.

Thursday, June 17, 1779, Governor Rutledge to General Moultrie wrote: "Pray get Pulaski with all the horse to join General Lincoln as soon as you think they can."

June 22d. General Moultrie, then at Hudson's, James Island, wrote Pulaski: "Encampment at Savage's to acquaint him with any information that fell in his way," and "to be in readiness should there be occasion for him."

In a poem *The Times,* said to have been "written by a Loyalist Lady in Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War" in the summer or autumn of 1779, Pulaski is this way referred to:

"Turn out Black Monsters; let us take our choice.
What devilish Figure this, with devilish voice?
Oh! 'tis POLASKI, 'tis a foreign chief,
On him we'll comment, be our comment brief.

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What are his merits? Judges may dispute.
We'll solve the Doubts and praise him for a Brute.
'No Quarter,' is his motto; sweet and short;
Good Britons, give him a severe Retort,
And yet he escapes the shot deserved so well,
His noble horse in Carolina Fell.
He fears not in the Field, where Heroes Bleed;
He starts at nothing but a generous Deed.
Escaped from Poland where his murd'rous knife
'Tis said was rais'd against his Sovereign's Life.
Perhaps he scoffs, with Fashionable Mirth,
The notion of a God who rules the earth.
Fool! not to see that something more than Lott,
Conducts the Traitor to this distant spott.
Rank with congenial Crimes, that call for Blood,
Where Justice soon must pour the purple Flood.
A parricide, with Parricides to die,
AND VINDICATE THE POWER THAT RULES ON HIGH."

[*Am. His. Record,* II, 439.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

PULASKI'S RECITAL TO CONGRESS OF HIS "ILL TREATMENT" AND "PERSECUTION"—DECLARES HE CAN "PAY THE WHOLE EXPENSE" OF HIS LEGION—URGES THE SETTLEMENT OF HIS ACCOUNTS WHICH HE HAS SOUGHT "A THOUSAND TIMES"—DID "NOT COME TO AMERICA DESTITUTE OF RESOURCES"—HIS FAMILY SEND HIM ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND LIVRES [$20,000]—SINCE HIS COMING "NEVER WAS PLEASED."

The following letter to Congress, sent from Charleston, South Carolina, under date of August 19, 1779, may be considered as Pulaski's dying testament, relating the ill treatment he had been subjected to concerning the accounts of the Board of Treasury with his Legion. It is indeed pathetic in its revelation of injustice, while it is testimony that Pulaski came not to America "with hazarded fortune" and in his "last shift" financially, as a later-day critic of 1825 declared:

Gentlemen—Every information from the Northward that has reached me Since my Departure from thence, Strengthens my opinion, indeed—Convinces me, that there is Some Malignant Spirit Constantly Casting Such an impenetrable might before your Eyes, as to render it impossible for you to See and judge of my Conduct with propriety, and as becomes the Character of Gentlemen in your Exalted Stations.

As an enthusiastic Zeal for the glorious cause wich animated America when I came over, and a contempt of death, first introduced me in your service, So I flattered myself I should have been happy Enough to acquire honour and to give Satisfaction; but Such has been my Lot, that nothing Less than my honour, wich I will never forfeit, retains me in a Service, wich ill treatment makes me begin to abhor. Every proceeding respecting myself has been so thoroughly mortifing, that nothing but the integrity of my heart, and the fervency of my Zeal Supports me under it. I am accustomed to Explain myself very freely, and I must do it now.

Is there any one act of mine, Ever Since the battle of brandywine down to the present period, the campaign of Charlestown, that has not demonstrated the most disinterested Zeal for the public cause? I believe the most profligate of my Enemies Cannot pre-

sume to deny it. Whence comes it then, that I have so Little Credit among you Gentlemen, that no one thing wherein I am concerned is done to my Satisfaction? Since the fatal instant that I undertook to Raise my Corps, wich I Cloathed, Recruited and Exercised in the space of three mounths time, I have been, and still am persecuted! I cannot Express my indignation, when I recollect the infamous chicane by wich I was compelled to appear before a Court like a criminal.

The delay of Congress to send me against the Ennemy was grounded upon a pretence of misbehaviour of my Corps to several of the inhabitants, even while certificates from the magistrates wherever my troops were quartered evidenced the Contrary. Altho my Corps bhaved with firmness at Little Egg harbour, and Several officers and soldiers fell or were wounded, their only reward was slander. My often repeated request to have the accounts of the Corps settled while I was present has been rejected; and, after a whole years delay, when Several officers whose presence was necessary to prove those accounts, were either killed or gone out of the Service it is pretended that they Shall be Settled with the Greatest Exactness: Lieut. Col. Bose is Killed, Major Montfort, and Capt. Caillivy have quited the Service and gone to Europe. Col. Kowaths is killed and Lieut. Seydling prisoner with the Ennemy, each of those Gentlemen were entrusted with some department. You must remember that my request to settle those accounts while it Could be done with ease and while those Gentlemen were present, was repeated a thousand times; therefore if there is any irregularity in the vouchers, it cannot be imputed to me or to Capt. baldeski; and those who occasioned the Delay ought to be answerable for the whole. Besides the sum, wich Seems to extravagant to you, is but a mere triffle to the States; indeed to me for tho I do not abound in Riches, yet it is not impossible for myself to repay the whole expences of my Legion—the Value of paper money at present is 20. for 1 in coin, so that if I apply 30,000 Livres towards it, that will produced a sum of 600,000, in paper money at Least four times the amount of the Expence that are disputed and with wich I am upbraided. Give me Leave Gentlemen to be plain with you. You are, in this case, Rather ungenerous; and there are foreigners to whom that attention has not been pay'd wich they had just Grounds to Expect from you. You Cannot be ignorant, that I have spend Considerably more than the Sum in question, of my own,

for the pleasure of advancing your cause, you must be sensible also, that I [did not] Come to America destitute of Resources, to be a burthen on you. That I have a Letter of Credit on Mr. Moris; and that I was known by almost Every foreigner of Character.

I have lately Received Letter from my Family advising, that they dispatched 100,000 Livres in hard money to me, Should it fortunately come Safe, the pleasure to me will be truly great to repay you to the utmost farthing, the whole charge of my Legion; Change then your opinion of one foreigner, who from his intrance into your Service, has never the cause to be pleased; who, in Europe, is by Rank superior to all that are in your Service; who certainly is not inferior in Zeal and Capacity and who perhaps, may have been considered as one who came to beg your favour. Be more just, Gentlemen, and Know that as I could not Submit to Stoop before the Sovereigns of Europe, So I Came to hazard all the freedom of America, and desirous of passing the rest of my life in a Country truly free and before settling as a Citizen, to fight for Liberty; but perceiving that endeavours are used to disgart [discard?] me against Such a motive, and to regard it was phantom, I am inclined to believe that enthusiasm for Liberty is not the predominant Virtue in America at this time. I have been informed, that the board of war instead of detaining or punishing deserters from my Legion, have discharged them from the Service; can this be Called a proper Conduct towards men who rob the State of the bounty and other wise? I have also been informed that one man hearing of this Generosity and who had Stolen a Horse to desert with, apply to them, was not only favoured in Like manner; but Even presented with the Horse. The officers who would have done their duty in maryland imposed a penalty of £100 upon any man who should inlisted in my Corps. Capt. bedkin who was Left, with a detachment of Light horse, to collect men remaining behind sick or on furlough with horses belonging to the Legion, and enthrusted with the sum of 5000 dollars for the recruiting Service has found protection with the Same board, who have rendered him indepentend altho he has failed in the Duty of an honest man. What does all this indigate? Has it not the appearance of an insidious design of disaffected persons to urge me to quit the Service in disgust, without minding the justice of their proceedings. Such a persons I denounce to your tribunal as perturbators of the pables [peoples] welfare in the military Line.

It is my disposition to Speak so as to be perfectly understood, I honour you without baseness, flattery is noxious in private as well as public bodies; it is the vice of those base animals who endeavour to persecute and injure me.

I was present when General Lincoln received an Express with a Letter mentioning Capt. Baldeski's detention and the order for appointing another paymaster wich office I believe is not very necessary, the few men we have left might be pay'd by the General paymaster of the Army, and there will be no farther confusion in the Details. Moreover it seems that the destruction of the Corps is intended wich will be eased performed.

The Campaign is at hand, perhaps I may still [have] an occasion of showing that I am friend to the cause without being happy enough to please some ind[ ].

I have the honour to be/Gentlemen/with Respect/your most humble and/obedient Servant/C Pulaski/Charlestown , August the 19th, 1779.

[*Papers Congress,* No. 164, p. 108.]

CHAPTER XIX.

BARON DE BENYOWSKY—ATTACK ON SAVANNAH—DEATH OF PULASKI —HIS DYING WORDS—WHERE WAS HE BURIED?—FUNERAL CEREMONIES—DEATH REPORTED TO CONGRESS.

In Congress, September 4, 1779. The Board of War to whom was referred the letter of Major General Gates report, that they have conversed with the gentleman stiling himself le Baron de Benyowsky, mentioned in General Gates' letter; that they know nothing from any testimonials he produces except his having a letter directed to General Pulaski, who he says is his half brother, and to whom he now desires only the means of going. Whereupon; It should seem that if he was an Impostor, he would not wish to go where he can be easily detected. We leave the determination, as is our duty, to Congress, and if they are satisfied on the subject we take the liberty of reporting:

Resolved, That Mons. le Baron de Benyowsky be supplied with a horse and one thousand dollars, to enable him to proceed to General Pulaski, now with the southern army.

December 13th/79. A letter from Benyowsky was read. It is in *Papers of Congress,* No. 78, III, folio 415. Its purport may be understood from the record of Congress of December 24/79. The Board of War reported to Congress on Benoufsky's Memorial that "the gentleman produces no credentials to evidence his character or rank in foreign services. We have no reason to suppose his representations untrue tho we cannot ascertain their credit by any vouchers. Let the case be as it may in point of personal character we are convinced that this gentleman cannot be employed in our service.

Congress Resolved that "the circumstances of the army will not admit of his being employed."

The Board of War the same day sent in another report that they had "learned some things concerning him not favouring his pretensions" and requesting Congress would "suspend their determination on the repport until the Board shall have made some farther enquiry into his character."

ON TO SAVANNAH.

On September 12th General Lincoln marched from Charleston to Zubley's Ferry, where he concentrated his army. Count Pulaski

with his Legion and General McIntosh with his command were dispatched towards Savannah, a little in advance of the main army to attack the British outposts. [*Lossing,* II, 735.]

THE BATTLE OF OCTOBER 9TH—DEATH OF PULASKI.

From the sixth to the ninth September, 1779, Count D'Estaing with the allied forces on board the French fleet arrived off Tybee Bar and were soon anchored in Cockspur Roads. A short time after the troops in Cockspur Roads effected a landing on Greenwich and Bonaventure bluffs. Here they encamped. On the conclusion of a parley with Prevost, the British commander, who refused to surrender, a siege and bombardment were resolved on. On the 9th of October the attack was made. The Americans were repulsed "after a severe and well maintained contest with tremendous loss." [Bowen.]

General Lincoln's orders for attack on Savannah as related to Pulaski were:

"The cavalry, under the command of Count Pulaski, will parade at the same time with the infantry [one o'clock] and follow the left column of the French troops and precede the column of the American light troops; they will endeavor to penetrate the enemy's lines, between the battery, on the left of the Spring Hill redoubt, and the next towards the river, having effected this, they will pass to the left, towards Yamacraw, and secure such parties of the enemy as may be lodged in that quarter." [Moultrie's *Memoirs,* II, 38.]

General Pulaski was in command of the regular cavalry and other mounted corps, but was unable to participate in the fight—being in reserve for a charge as soon as a breach was effected in the enemy's works—he became impatient at witnessing the galling fire of the foe and the slaughter of his comrades; his keen and penetrating eye discovered an opening through which he believed an entrance could be effected and thereby gain the enemy's rear. Communicating this fact and his plan of operation to General Lincoln, that officer sanctioned the movement. At the head of his brave and dashing cavalry, he led off the charge, sword in hand. A grape shot pierced his groin and in a moment he lay prostrate within a few yards of the enemy's battery. His companions bore him from the field.

Col. Bowen relates that when Pulaski fell and became sur-

rounded by his comrades the distance was so near the lines that every man of that party could have been destroyed by the enemy's small arms—but they forebore; they knew it was Pulaski who had fallen and such was their estimation of that heroic and intrepid officer his comrades were allowed to bear off their chief without molestation.

The assault was to be made on the right of the British lines. The Americans and French to attack at the same time. In the rear of the columns, the whole Cavalry, Americans and French, was to be stationed under Count Pulaski. Should the redoubts be carried and the way opened, that intrepid leader was, to enter the place and carry confusion and dismay among the garrison. D'Estaing led the French corps. The enemy had been informed of his plan by spies. They opened a deadly fire. Pulaski, impatient to know when he was to act, determined, after securing his cavalry under cover, to go forward himself, and called to accompany him, one of the Captains of his Legion. They had proceeded only a short distance, when they heard the havoc produced by the hostile batteries. D'Estaing was grievously wounded. It was of the fatal effects which such a disaster was likely to produce on the spirits of the French, and hoping his presence would reanimate them, Pulaski rushed on to the scene of disorder and bloodshed. In his attempt to penetrate to the spot he received a swivel shot in the upper part of his thigh; and the officer who accompanied him was wounded by a musket ball. [Bentalou.]

At the height of the assault, the Count Pulaski at the head of 200 light horse, charging at full speed attempted to penetrate into the town, in order to assail the British in the rear. But he received a mortal wound; his troop, on seeing him fall, were dismayed and fell back. [Botta, *His. Rev.*, III, 78, Ed. 1821.]

The brave Pulaski with his 200 horse galloping over the ground in a desperate effort to leap a barrier before them. The voice of the gallant Pole was heard for the last time, urging his men with his well known battle cry, "Forwarts, broudern, forwarts." [Curtis' *Recoll.*]

General Moultrie's account of the attack on Savannah reported, "Count Pulaski at the head of his cavalry received his mortal wound from one of the galleys." [Moultrie's *Memoirs*, II, 41.]

Several persons, hearing that he had been mortally wounded at the assault on Savannah, conceived the idea, that in a fit of

reckless fury, he must have attempted to storm the place, at the head of his cavalry; and what was, at first, the surmise of the ignorant, passing from mouth to mouth, became the fixed opinion of the credulous. [*Ibid,* App. III.]

"During the siege Pulaski fully sustained, in his sphere of action, the exalted reputation, as a man of military resource and conduct, which his previous career had won." [Sparks, 439.]

The failure of the Americans and French to capture Savannah gave the British possession of Georgia as far north as Augusta. This they held until the close of the war.

With the death of Pulaski we need not follow the operations of The Legion. Judge Johnson in his *Remarks Critical* says of this Corps:

The whole history of this corps is but a catalogue of misfortunes. It is known in Revolutionary history only by successive disasters. Scarcely had it acquired existence before it was surprised and cut up at Egg Harbor; and scarcely had its skeleton form reached Charleston, before rout and destruction awaited it in the face of all the world. From Charleston it moves to Savannah, to undertake the chivalrous exploit of storming a garrison; and it meets with the only fate that could await such an enterprise. And when it appears again upon the arena, it is only to sustain the decisive surprise at Monk's Corner, from which nothing was saved but Captain Bentalou and the colours, a most shameful surprise in open day as Moultrie calls it (Vol. II, 72). From that time its existence is lost, its very form was annihilated, its name almost forgotten. That corps never distinguished itself in battle (p. 35).

The encounter at Monk's Corner was on April 18, 1780, long after the death of Pulaski. At that time the remnant of the Legion was under the command of Gen. Huger when twenty or more were killed and wounded. Major Vernier, killed.

But Pulaski was dead.

His Legion was destroyed.

HIS DYING WORDS.

When Pulaski was struck by a bullet on the battlefield of Savannah, he fell from his horse. As the Major Rogowski came to him, he uttered those words, "Jesus! Mary! Joseph!" and the soldiers of his Legion carried him through the thickest fire to the camp. After having been brought to the ship the most skillful

French surgeons being unable to extract the bullet, he was to be sent to Charleston. When the ship "Wasp" left the river for the ocean he died.

[Historical Supplement of the Recent Years and Supplement about the Poles in America of the History of the Polish Nation, by Joseph Chociszewski in Posen, Province of Posen (now in Germany), page 180, supplied by Rev. B. Pawlowski, of Uniontown, Pa.]

In the *History of Baron Lovinski* it is related as by the Baron:

"Pulaski was mortally wounded by my side. Being carried to his tent, I instantly repair hither to console him.

"'I find my end approaches,' says he addressing himself to me. 'Ah, but it is too true, that I shall never see my native country again.'

"Cruel, fantastical destiny! Pulaski falls a martyr to American Liberty and the Poles continue slaves.

"'My friend, my death would be indeed horrible, if a ray of hope did not remain to cheer me! Ah, I hope I do not deceive myself! No, I am not mistaken,' added he in a firmer accent.

"'A consoling Deity discloses in my last thoughts a futurity; a happier futurity which approaches.

"'I behold one of the first nations of the world awakening from a long and deep slumber, and re-demands of its proud oppressors its violated honors and its ancient rights; its sacred, imprescriptible rights, the rights of humanity.

"'I behold in an immense capital, long dishonored by every species of servility, a crowd of soldiers discovering themselves to be citizens and millions of citizens becoming soldiers.

"'Beneath their redoubled blows, the Bastile shall be overturned; the signal is already given from one extremity of the empire to another; the reign of tyrrany is no more.

"'A neighboring people, sometimes an enemy but always generous, always worthy of deciding upon great actions, shall applaud these unexpected efforts, crowned with such speedy success!

"'Ah, may a reciprocal esteem commence and strengthen between these two nations an unalterable friendship! May that horrible science of trick, imposture and treason, which courts

denominate *politics,* hold out no obstacle to prevent fraternal reunion.

"'Noble rivals, in talents and philosophy, Frenchmen! Englishmen! suspend at length and suspend for ever, those bloody discords, the fury of which has been but too often extended over the two hemispheres; no longer decide between you the empire of the universe, but by the force of your example and the ascendency of your genius. Instead of the cruel advantage of affrighting and subduing the nations around you, dispute between yourselves, the more solid glory of enlightening their ignorance and breaking their chains.

"'Approach,' said Pulaski, 'behold at a little distance from, and in the midst of the carnage that surrounds us, among such a crowd of famous warriors, a warrior celebrated even in the midst of them, by his masculine courage, his early talents and his virtues truly republican. He is the heir of a name long illustrious; but he had no occasion for the glory of his ancestors to render himself celebrated.

"'It is young FAYETTE, already an honor in France and a scourge to tyrants, but he has scarce began his immortal labors.

"'Envy his fate, Lovinski; endeavor to imitate his virtues and follow as near as possible the steps of so great a man. He, the worthy pupil of a Washington, shall soon be the Washington of his own country. It is almost at the same time, my friend, it is at that memorable epoch of the regeneration of nations, that the eternal justice shall also present to our fellow citizens, the days of vengeance and liberty.

"'Then, Lovinski, in whatever place thou mayst be, let thy hate rekindle! Again combat on the side of Poland!

"'Let the remembrance of your injuries, and of our successes, call forth thy courage! May thy sword, so many times empurpled with the blood of our enemies, be still turned against those oppressors. May they tremble while thinking on thy exploits! May they tremble in recalling the name of Pulaski!

"'They have ravished us from our property; they have assassinated thy wife; they have robbed thee of thy daughter; they have dishonored my memory!

"'The barbarians! They have dismembered our provinces! Lovinski, these are injuries which you ought never to forget.

"'When our persecutors are those also of our country, vengeance become at once sacred and indispensible.

"'You owe to the Russians an eternal hatred! You owe to Poland the last drop of your blood.'

"Saying this he expires." [*His. of Lovinski,* N. Y., 1807, p. 97.]

It is not at all likely that the dying Pulaski spoke thus. He may, simply have expressed his regret that he was unable to further struggle for the cause of his native land, as he is reported by the Baron to have declared to him after the failure in Poland.

"My Country has lost her freedom! Let us still fight for that of a new people." [*History of Baron Lovinski,* New York, 1807, p. 94.]

"PULASKI IS DEAD."

Capt. Johann Heinrichs, a Hessian officer, in his *Letter Book* recorded:

"Victory! The French and Rebels have been defeated in Georgia, Pulaski is dead, d'Estaing wounded, 1500 French dead, 72 rebels dead. That was splendid! Now the South is ours again, Splendid!" [*Pa. Mag.,* 1898, p. 166.]

WHERE WAS PULASKI BURIED.

"The enterprise upon Savannah was abandoned by the allied armies. Pulaski, with his wounded officer, was conveyed on board the United States brig, the 'Wasp,' to go to Charleston. They remained some days in the Savannah river; and during that time, the most skillful surgeons in the French fleet, attended on Pulaski. It was found impossible to establish suppuration and gangrene was the consequence. Just as the 'Wasp' got out of the river, Pulaski breathed his last. The corpse became offensive, his officer was compelled to consign it to a watery grave." [Bentalou.]

Henry Williams, Esq., the orator on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the Pulaski Monuemnt in Savannah, October 11, 1853, said:

"On this day seventy-four years ago Pulaski died; yet remarkable to relate, surrounded as he was by friends and companions in arms, prominent as was his station, and gallant as were his deeds, no evidence exists which designates with certainty the place where his remains were deposited. Whether the Sea received him, or whether he lies under some spreading oak upon St. Helena's Island

in our sister State or sleeps beneath the sod of Greenwich by the banks of one of our own beautiful streams, an hour's pilgrimage from the spot where he fell, remains to this day a mystery." That was said October, 1853.

In November, 1854, Launitz, the sculptor of the Monument, began the foundations for the memorial. "The remains of Pulaski which had been kept in the Medical College since their exhumation, were brought to the base of the Monument by Dr. Skinner and in the presence of several gentlemen, Mr. Launitz, his foremand and assistants, were carefully deposited in a metallic case, together with parchment on which was inscribed the following record:

REMAINS OF PULASKI.

"This case contains what are supposed to be the remains of Brigadier General Kasimir Pulaski, a gallant and distinguished Pole, who fell mortally wounded, at the siege of Savannah, on the 9th October, 1779, while charging at the head of a body of cavalry against the British lines.

"These remains were exhumed on the —— of December, 1853 at Greenwich on Augustine creek, distant from the city of Savannah five miles—being the place where the French troops, under the command of Count D'Estaing, landed and were embarked, after the battle of 9th of October, for the fleet, at anchor in Cockspur Roads. Tradition has for many years pointed to the spot where these remains were exhumed, as the burial place of Pulaski, and their conformity, from anatomical examination, by medical gentlemen of this city, to the remains of such a man as Pulaski has been described, and other concurrent circumstances connected with the recovery go far to corroborate the belief. The Commissioners of the Monument have therefore deemed it proper to place the remains within the structure which is now in progress to completion."

The monument, with the railing by which it is enclosed, was completed by the 22d of December, 1854.

Doctors Wm. G. Bullock and James B. Read certified that the "remains discovered and exhumed by Col. Wm. P. Bowen were in a good state of preservation, although the bones were very much denuded of their animal matter. The skeleton was complete, with the exception of some few bones of the hands and feet, so that we were enabled to arrive at the following results: 1st. That

the bones discovered had formed the skeleton of a man of medium size. 2d. That the individual must have been in the prime of life, for the whole set of teeth, including the wisdom teeth, were entire and sound in their sockets. 3d. The form of the skull indicated that the individual had belonged to the Caucasian race, the facial angle measuring 85 degrees, which is above the mean given by Camper and Morton, to wit: 80 degrees. 4th. The skull was remarkable for the great width between the eyes at the root of the nose, and the breadth of the face as measured across the cheek bones. Comparing the form of the entire head, that is the shape of the skull and face combined, with the lithographed head of Pulaski, which you exhibited to us, there is, we think, a striking resemblance of outline."

The place of burial was pointed out by Jacob Lewis who, in 1814, had been overseer and manager of Mrs. Beecroft's property at Greenwich and to whom she had frequently shown the spot where Pulaski was buried. Mrs. Beecroft told me that after the siege of Savannah, Pulaski was brought wounded to her house and died there. She always spoke of the fact of his death and burial positively. She had always kept the walk from the garden to the grave clear and in order. It was in the orchard and shrubbery and about two hundred yards from the house. The family servants frequently made the same statements. Mrs. Beecroft was about fourteen years of age when Pulaski's death and burial occurred.

J. C. Levi certified that in 1803 a number of officers of the Polish Legion, in the service of France landed in Charleston, having recently at St. Domingo capitulated under General Rochambeau to the English fleet. Mr. Levy's father being a Pole entertained many of them among whom was Captain Bagalauski who claimed to be, and was recognized among these gentlemen as, a nephew of Count Pulaski. He went to visit the grave of his uncle. He returned to Charleston and mentioned that he had accomplished the object of his visit.

Yet Captain Paul Bentalou, later of Baltimore, who aided in carrying Pulaski on board the United States brig "Wasp" and was with him when he died, asserts that he was buried at sea off St. Helena's Island, South Carolina. Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution,* S. II, 735, states Pulaski died on the "Wasp" and was buried at St. Helena's Island by Lieut. Charles Litomiski.

C. J. Jones in *Sepulture of Major General N. Greene and Brigadier General Count Casimir Pulaski,* published in Augusta, Georgia, August 26, 1885, states:

"When in 1855 the monument in Johnson Square was completed human remains were deposited underneath which were represented to be those of Pulaski—because of circumstances, traditions and arguments of Col. Bowen—removed from Greenwich. There can be no doubt that the bones unearthed on the bluff of Augustine creek were of some unknown and not of the Polish leader. He did not die at Greenwich and was not interred there."

He was buried under a large tree on St. Helen's island, about fifty miles from Savannah, by his first Lieutenant and personal friend, Charles Litomiski. [*Recollections of G. W. P. Custis,* p. 196, Ed. 1860.]

"CONSIGNED TO A WATERY GRAVE."

"While the assault by the combined armies of Count D'Estaing and General Lincoln against the British lines around Savannah on the morning of the 9th October, 1779, was raging Count Pulaski attempted at the head of two hundred cavalrymen to force a passage between the enemy's works. In the execution of this design he was arrested by the abattis and encountered a heavy cross fire from the batteries. He was unhorsed by a canister shot penetrating his right thigh inflicting a mortal wound. He was taken on board the United States brig 'Wasp' to go to Charleston. The ship remained several days in the Savannah river. Pulaski attended by the surgeons of the French fleet. Gangrene set in. On the way to Charleston he died. His corpse became so offensive that Col. Bentalou was 'compelled to consign to a watery grave all now left of his beloved and honored commander.'" [Jones' *Sepulture.*]

"BURIED IN AN ORCHARD."

Pulaski was placed on a litter and taken to Greenwich to be placed on one of the vessels. Pulaski made choice of going on board the French fleet rather than follow the American army in consequence of apprehended pursuit by the British. So Dr. Lynah, a surgeon in the army, told his grandson, Col. James Lynah of Philadelphia. "Thus," says Bowen, "we arrive at the fact that he was taken to Greenwich. Did he die and was buried there or was

he at once placed on board of a vessel for Charleston, died on his passage and met a watery grave?"

Col. William P. Bowen, of Savannah, whose account is being presented as published by him in 1854, asserts that when Pulaski was brought to Greenwich he was not placed on one of the French vessels but was brought to the Beecroft mansion where also Count D'Estaing who had received a severe wound was also brought. "Pulaski suffered much from his bleeding wound and died in a few hours—at night. His companions anxious to join the fleet at once buried him in the orchard."

So in December, 1854, Col Bowen had the remains exhumed. He says, "History relates that Pulaski was 'a devout Roman Catholic.' Among the decomposing relics of that patriot and Christian soldier were discovered metallic and wooden substances united, apparently highly wrought but so corroded that it is difficult to decide or assign their original forms; but enough remain to lead to the belief that they composed a sword or dagger hilt or a cross of metal and wood."

"And there you are," amid the confusion of the Historians. The "evidence" presented by Col. Bowen, and printed in 1835, is traditionary; that the Count was buried on the Beecroft estate at Greenwich, Georgia; that "Pulaski's grave" was known to be there by several and attended to as such; that in December, 1853, Col. Bowen went to the spot he had in earlier life known as the "grave of Pulaski" and there exhumed human remains which were deposited beside the cornerstone of the monument erected in Savannah to the memory of the Liberty loving and dying Patriot, Count Casimir Pulaski.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES AT CHARLESTON.

But Bentalou, who declares he was with Pulaski when he died and that his body was "consigned to a watery grave," states:

"The 'Wasp' entered the harbor of Charleston with her flag half hoisted. The mournful signal was repeated by all the shipping in the fort. The Governor and Council of South Carolina, and the municipal authorities of Charleston, jointly adopted resolutions to pay respectful and the most splendid honours. A day was set apart for the celebration of the obsequies and the Quarter Master General of the United States, at Charleston, directed to make and

to defray all the preparations necessary for that melancholy solemnity. The procession was grand, magnificent, suited to the occasion. The pall was carried by three American and three French officers of the highest grade, followed by the beautiful horse which Pulaski rode, when he received his mortal wound, with all the accoutrements, armor and dress which he then wore. So immensely large was the mournful procession that it was found necessary to make a circuit round the city to the church where an eloquent and impressive discourse was delivered by the chaplain of the army." [*Pulaski Vindicated,* p. 30.]

The splendid funeral honors paid by the citizens of Charleston to the memory of the brave Pulaski—the united regrets of the people and the army at the loss of an officer no less beloved than he was useful—and the last tribute of respect offered to his shade by Congress—had evinced the sensibilities, the gratitude of our infant republic. [*Ibid,* p. 33.]

The only available account of the funeral ceremonies is that of the *South Carolina and American General Gazette,* Friday, October 29, 1779. It said: "The gallant Count Pulaski died at sea, on his return from Georgia, of his wound; and on Thursday last week his funeral rites were performed here, in a manner suitable to the rank and merits of that intrepid and much lamented Officer."

Strange no mention was made of the place of his interment. "Died at sea," impliedly meant buried at sea. The testimony of Bentalou and the statement of the Gazette justify the belief that the body of Pulaski was buried at sea. Had his remains been brought ashore undoubtedly that would have been mentioned by the *Gazette.* So it is very probable that the bones deposited under the Savannah Monument are not those of Count Pulaski.

DEATH REPORTED TO CONGRESS.

In the *Papers of the Continental Congress,* Vol. II, p. 293, is the report of Lieutenant-Colonel Bedaulx of the death of Pulaski, sent to the President of Congress:

CHARLESTON, S. Ca., the 25th of Ober, 1779.

I am sorry to inform Your Excellency and the Honourable The Congress, of the death of Brigr Generl Count Pulaski, who died of the wounds he received in the last attempt against Savannah.

I am now Commander of the sad remainders of the Legion which he had under his command, and I shall follow about that Corps the Orders and directions of the Honnourable Generl Lincoln, and send to the Board of War the State and condition of the said Legion, where the Officers are more numerous than the Privates.

THE INTREPID PULASKI.

General Lincoln's letter to Congress of October 22d here reported: "Our disappointment is great and what adds to the poignancy of our grief is the loss of brave officers and men among them the late intrepid Count Pulaski."

AN ENEMY OF KINGS.

"When the King of Poland was apprized of the death of Pulaski, he is said to have exclaimed, 'Pulaski has died as he had lived—a hero—but an enemy of kings.'" [*Pulaski Vindicated,* App. III.]

Jabez Bowen, Governor of Rhode Island, on November 23, 1779, wrote, "I mourn the loss of Pulaski and the many other gallant souls both French and American that have taken their flights in the fatal attack." [Mss. Henkels.]

PULASKI POST OFFICES.

Pulaski gave his life for the Liberty and Independence of the thirteen States when they struggled for Freedom.

In the United States, which his valor aided in establishing and his blood in cementing, there are now thirteen post offices named in his honor; one each in the States of Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, Wisconsin. This is the more honorable to his memory when we consider that his compatriot, Kosciusko, has but one—that in Mississippi.

Here is the Muster Roll of a company of the Legion soon after the death of Pulaski. The names of all Revolutionary soldiers are now being obtained and recorded for perpetuation.

Muster-Roll of the second Troop Light Dragoons of Genrl Count Pulaski's Legion Been Commanded By late Capt Zielinski, Now Commanded By Capt Lebrun De Belle Count for the Months of August, September October and November 1779

Commissioned { Capt Zielinski April the 18th 1778, deceased Sepber the 25th, 1779 / Capt Lebrun de Belle Court April the 30th 1776 } Lieutenant Beaulieu March the 1t 1779

INLISTED	DATE	NAMES	TERMS	REMARKS
		SERJEANTS		
1779 June	11th	Ludweipoor	one year	Present
		TRUMPETER		
1778 March	20	Joseph fack	3 year	dto
		DRAGOONS		
Dto May	8	Christian Dllman	the war	dto
1779 April	13	Martin hatkinson	dto	dto
June	15	George thomson	dto	dto
July	1t	John shee	dto	dto
May	2	John holand	three years	dto
1778 Sepber	1t	Deobert Coop	2 year	dto
dto	dto	John shoop	dto	dto
dto	dto	Henery shoop	dto	dto
1779 June	15	John ferell	16 months	dto
April	6	Ludwie Leave	one year	dto
July	1t	Ludwie Begerhosf	dto	dto
Novemr	28	Cornelius Love	dto	dto
dto	dto	Nicolas Mason	dto	Supposed to be Prisoner or drowned
July	1t	Godfreid Hope	dto	Present
		WAGGONER		
		John Hamilton	Time over but remains	Present
		DISCHARGED		
		SERJEANTS		
1778 March	12	francis srainemaker	one year	Discharged Sepber the 25th 1779
		CORPORALS		
dto dto	dto	Joseph Snyder	dto	dto dto
dto	dto	Martin Miller	dto	dto dto

INLISTED	DATE	NAMES	TERMS	REMARKS
		DRAGOONS		
1778 March	22	Andrew George	18 month	Discharged Septr the 25th 1779
Dto	dto	Elias Nowelt	dto	dto
dto	dto	Jeremie hoppe	dto	dto
dto	28th	Robert James	dto	dto
dto	dto	John Leland	dto	dto
dto	dto	John Lautherback	dto	dto
dto	dto	Andrew McCowen	dto	dto
dto	dto	Andrew Olliman	dto	dto
dto	dto	Joseph Philips	dto	dto
dto	dto	Isaac Rollins	dto	dto
dto	20th	Ebenezer Riggins	dto	dto
dto	22d	John Shaid	dto	dto
dto	dto	Patrick Shirt	dto	dto
dto	dto	Rasile Wheler	dto	dto
		KILLED AND DEAD		
		Q. M. SERJEANT		
1778 March	12th	Earnest Stears	3 years	Dead in Charlestown octobr 25, 79
		DRAGOONS		
Seper	1t	Philip frederick	2 years	Killed Before Savannah 16th Sept 1779
		DESERTERS		
		DRAGOONS		
1778 May	8	Adam Kruiser	the War	Deserted October the 6 179
June	1t	George Ox	dto	dto dto
1779 Janry	2d	Cristian Dearling	one year	dto 28th Seper 1779
1778 Aprol	10	hugh fitz Patrick	2 year	dto dto
Sepber	10	Godfreid Hesse	2 years	dto dto
1779 Augst	28	Gaspard Morson	one year	dto dto
dto	dto	Joseph Hortin	dto	dto dto
dto	dto	Joseph fitz Patrick	dto	dto dto

PULASKI MONUMENT AT SAVANNAH

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CHAPTER XX.

MONUMENTS TO PULASKI—ONE ORDERED BY CONGRESS, 1779—NOT BUILT—ONE AT SAVANNAH—ONE TO BE AT WASHINGTON—REPORT OF SENATE COMMITTEE—TRIBUTES TO HIS CHARACTER—CLAIMS OF "HEIRS."

MONUMENTS TO PULASKI.

In Congress, November 29, 1779, a letter of 31st October from Major General Lincoln was read, enclosing a letter of 25th of same month, from Lieutenant Colonel Bedaulx, giving information of the death of Brigadier Count Pulaski and a petition from the same. Referred to Board of War. Congress then

Resolved, That a monument be erected to the memory of Brigadier Count Pulaski and that a committee of three be appointed to bring in a resolution for that purpose.

The members chosen, Mr. Elbridge Gerry, Mr. Robert R. Livingston and Mr. Cornelius Harnett. On December 7, 1779, the Committee brought in its report, but its purport is not recorded nor is the original report to be found among the *Papers of Congress.*

The monument, we know, was not erected. No doubt other, at the time, more important work was necessary and the money cost, at a time when it was difficult to procure it, debarred all proceedings.

On March 30, 1780, from Warsaw Pulaski's brother wrote Franklin, at Paris, saying he had heard of the death of his brother in the unfortunate affair at Savannah; thought he left considerable property and begged Franklin to inform him of his death and if so what steps would have to be taken to claim his effects. Their family was ruined in the Polish struggle for freedom. [Franklin's *Corres.,* XVII, 126, *Am. Philo. Soc.*]

LAFAYETTE LAYS CORNERSTONE.

When, in 1824-5, Lafayette visited this country the citizens of Savannah undertook the project of erecting a memorial to Generals Greene and Pulaski. So on March 21, 1825, when Lafayette visited that city he laid the cornerstone of a monument to General Greene in Johnson Square and of another to Pulaski in Chippewa Square.

Sufficient contributions not having been given, in November,

1826, the Legislature of Georgia authorized a lottery of $35,000 to erect one monument to be called THE GREENE AND PULASKI MONUMENT. Up to 1848 but $12,000 had been realized from that source. [Lossing, II, 720.]

After twelve years the Monument was erected in Johnson Square. The cornerstone of the former projected monument being removed and united with the Greene cornerstone in Johnson Square.

In 1853 the Pulaski cornerstone was detached and in association with another cornerstone placed beneath the structure on Monterey Square.

The cornerstone was laid October 11, 1853, with Masonic ceremonies. Henry Williams, Esq., delivered the oration and "rendered an appropriate tribute of grateful reverence to the memory of one who shed his life-blood upon our soil in defence of the liberties of our Country and to vindicate the Republic from the charge of ingratitude, by establishing for posterity, upon the scene of his patriotic self-sacrifice, an enduring Memorial of his services and his fame. Here is destined to rise in marble beauty a lofty column, which shall fitly commemorate the gallant achievements and melancholy fate of that heroic son of Poland, that worshipper of Liberty and martyrs in her cause, the friend and fellow soldier of Washington, the noble and chivalrous PULASKI."

NATIONAL MONUMENT AT WASHINGTON.

At the Fifty-seventh Congress of the United States (1902-3), petitions of the eighteen Polish Societies of South Bend, Indiana, were, by Hon. A. L. Brick, of that District, presented Congress, to provide for a statue to "our great countryman and martyr for American Liberty," and also petition from Georgia, through Col. Joseph Smolinski, of Washington, from the Savannah Board of Trade, the Savannah Cotton Exchange, the Society of Colonial Wars, the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of Georgia, the Sons of the Revolution in Georgia, the Tomochichi Club and the Georgia Historical Society, and the Polish Colony of Savannah, that "the distinguished services, rare merit and bravery" of Pulaski should be recognized by a statue. These memorials were referred to the Committee on Library of the Senate and House, with a Bill [H. R. 16] providing for "the erection at Washington of a bronze equestrian statue to the memory of the late Brigadier General Count Casimir Pulaski." The Bill provided:

PULASKI MONUMENT AT WASHINGTON

TO BE DEDICATED MAY, 1910

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"That there shall be erected in the City of Washington, a statue of Brigadier General Count Casimir Pulaski of Poland, who came to America and, after declaring his intention to become a citzen of the Republic, offered his sword to Washington, under whose leadership in the great struggle for American Independence he lost his life at the siege of Savannah, Georgia, October eleventh, 1779, and for the purpose of procuring and erecting said statue with a suitable pedestal, and the preparation of a site, the sum of Fifty Thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated."

The Bill was reported favorably February 6, 1903. The House report (No. 2282) stated, "Among those that served America in the darkest days of the Revolution, Count Casimir Pulaski figures as one of the most distinguished officers and martyrs. But no statue to the memory of Pulaski, his noble deeds, and high minded patriotism appears here. This Bill is intended to provide this tribute and to perform this duty to Count Pulaski. This is merely to redeem the pledge and resolution passed by the Continental Congress to erect a proper memorial to the great services of this Revolutionary hero."

The Committee's report then gave the Resolution of November 29, 1779, and added: "It does not appear that this was ever acted on. Many of his countrymen by birth, have, like Pulaski, immigrated to America to make this their home and their numbers now are in the millions. They have been asking for the erection of this statue to their countryman and fellow American and many petitions have been received by the Committee urging that some action be taken by this Committee on this Bill."

The Senate Committee reported:

"Of the character of Count Pulaski and the great events of his life, especially his invaluable services to America, that entitle him to be numbered among the heroes of America and to be perpetuated in the memory of the people for whom he sacrificed his life, and of the appreciation and high esteem in which his memory is cherished by those sons of Poland who have taken up their homes in this land, we give some of the statements of Col. Joseph Smolinski before your Committee. He is the representative of the combined Polish-American Societies specially commissioned by them to assist in consummating the plan to erect this statue to the memory of Count Pulaski. Among other things he said:

"From out that galaxy of heroes who gave our nation an historical beginning at a momentous period of the world's history, not excelled even by the Olympian memories of Pericles, who pictured in thundering eloquence Athenian patriotism, there is one among the many far-shining men whose renown in valor and deeds is the record of a golden page of our national history, to which it has imparted dignity. This one man I single out was a foreigner by birth, a noble son of that most ancient nation, Poland; a stranger, if you please, but a dear brother by adoption, a veritable Bayard, 'without fear and without reproach,' a champion in the cause of the oppressed, in the cause of freedom, a hero of liberty, nay, an American citizen, baptized in his own blood on the plains of Savannah while defending our beloved land against the enemy."

The Committee reported also:

"This proud warrior and hero of Liberty gives us in his imperfect English the keynote of his lofty character," in his letter of August 19, 1779, read in Congress October 1st:

"I could not submit to stoop before the sovereigns of Europe, so I came to hazard all for the freedom of America, and desirous of passing the rest of my life in a country truly free and before settling as a citizen to fight for Liberty."

Col. Smolinski further said:

"Noble Spartan, hopeful to the last that his country will rise again triumphant from the grave of oppression, he saw, like a bright vision from afar, the beautiful temple of Liberty building on the Western Hemisphere. There, beneath the furls of our starry banner, his compatriots would find a home in the land of the free."

His generous impulse to serve the struggling colonists, his martial enthusiasm, and love of Liberty is expressed by Franklin's letter to Washington:

"Furthermore it was left to Pulaski, the Father of American cavalry, to demonstrate the value of this arm of the military service, aptly called 'the eye of the army,' which up to his coming the Lees, Sumters, Marions and William Washington failed to show. None of the officers named held higher rank than that of Colonel. Pulaski was the first General of Cavalry in the American military establishment.

"It was while gallantly leading the combined American and French cavalry forces against the enemy he received his death

wound. As he was borne from that memorable field, moistened by his precious blood, turning to Light Horse Harry Lee he gave him in feeble accents, this last command: 'Follow my lances, to whom I have given my order of attack,' and on October 11, 1779, his spirit took its flight homeward—called off duty forever."

The Committee further reported:

"But aside from that pride on the part of the Polish-American citizens to see their compatriot and countryman crowned with all the honor that is due him, there is an inherent and everlasting sense of duty on the part of the American people to pay the debt of gratitude we owe to this hero and martyr for American Liberty."

Hon. A. L. Brick also appeared before the Committee and gave "the opinion and high regard entertained by the whole American people for this great hero," and urging the favorable recommendation of the Committee. He said:

"The debt we owe our distinguished dead is a sacred memory that only ingratiated time can pay. Over one hundred years ago a great man died. He died as he lived, a noble and undaunted warrior, fighting the battles of Liberty and of the Republic.

"Though born in Poland no purer patriotism glowed in the breast of any Revolutionary father than was kindled in the heart of Count Pulaski for American Freedom. No nobler sentiment ever lived in deeds of valor than burned in him who gave up love and youth and fortune, and all that man may hope or live for, to bear the toil and dangers of a distant land in an unequal contest, an almost hopeless cause. But it was the cause of his father and all his kinsmen had died for; it was the thing his country on bended knees had prayed for. It was the arrogant power and brutal force on the one side with justice and human rights on the other, that incited him to give up a life of splendid hope and growing fame for Freedom and for us. He devoted all this with no thought of spoil or hope of conquest. He was called to this by no strident voice of conflict or revelry of war. But he came to us with his youth, his genius, his patriotism, his life in that godly consecrated love of Liberty and humanity that is conceived and finds its home in a martyr's mind. The martyrdom he suffered for the Republic could only spring from a great moral principle born with him, bequeathed to him by his ancestors, and inspired by the environment of his life. He fought and died for America in the saddened love he bore for fair Poland, ravaged, pillaged and

denationalized, the darkest tragedy, the blackest chapter in the annals of human misery, unparalleled in crimsoned history. They killed his father, murdered his Country, coerced his people or drove them into exile. Such was the heart Pulaski brought to George Washington with a letter from Benjamin Franklin introducing him as 'one of the greatest officers in Europe.' He won that magnificent compliment from the great American by his talents and his patriotism, his heroic and dashing courage, his towering genius, his unshaken loyalty, his incorruptible honor, his indomitable love of country and his deeds of heroism throughout eight long and despairing years of bloody war in Poland—achievements that barely escaped the miraculous and almost challenge belief.

"While a gleam of hope remained he fought for Poland with relentless energy and brilliant resource; but the combined power of three mighty Empires crushed a valiant people, and Poland fell. Always superior to events, formidable in victory, he was also great in defeat. To have rushed into Slavery or Death would have been a useless sacrifice. He chose rather to live, to fight, to battle for Liberty on the western shores of the Atlantic tide, to seek in the New World a land where kings were yet unborn, where Freedom was a star and thrones were dust. He fled from the hallowed land of his birth, consecrated with the blood of his father and brothers and his heart's sad devotion, to prepare a place for his countrymen—a place filled with the freedom they had dreamed of and died for.

"To day over 2,000,000 sons and daughters of Poland cherish the fame of Pulaski in this country. Destiny delights to mingle in the veins of American greatness the invigorating blood of many peoples. Let us erect a statue to Pulaski that shall reincarnate in his embronzed memory the love and patriotism of all his people; yes, more, 80,000,000 of the happiest, proudest citizens of the world.

"He was a soldier in the highest and best sense of the word, with a brain quick to receive and agile to execute. He brooked no opposition he did not meet; he was unwearied in perseverance and possessed a courage that was always ready, but never rash. He sacrificed himself, all the years of his young life, his fortune, his ancestral dignity, his lofty spirit, his splendid genius, and all his earthly hopes, for Liberty, Justice and Humanity. For these he gave all he had—his martyred life.

"Others lived to enjoy the plaudits of men and a happy freedom, made possible through their valor and his, but he died. They lived to see the sunshine, but he fell in the smoke of battle, in the war-lit night, in the expiring gloom of the oldest Republic—his native land—and in the agonizing pain birth of the youngest child—his adopted country.

"Let us see that his memory survives his martyrdom. Let the gratitude of the nation create his heroism in the multiplied patriotism of his children by rendering him due honor. The Continental Congress pledged that pious duty in 1779, while yet his deeds were young, but in the cumulating press of great responsibilities it has never been redeemed. I hope we will wait no longer to wipe away the stain of a nation's forgetfulness and ingratitude to a brave man by speedily erecting a statue to his enduring fame."

In May, 1910, will be unveiled and dedicated at Washington the monument to General Pulaski, for which Congress appropriated $50,000. The sculptor is Casimio Chodzinski, who designed the Kosciusko Monument at Chicago. By his courtesy the illustration of the Pulaski Monument is given. He was born at Lancuc, Galacia, in Austrian Poland. He attended the Cracow School of Fine Arts and was awarded a prize. In his 19th year of age he sold his first sculpture, "The Egyptienne." He studied in Vienna under Prof. Hellmer, receiving two monetary prizes while there. His work attracted much attention in exhibitions of art and were awarded prizes. His "Dancing Fawn" was recognized as a work of great value. (See cut of it in *Universal Encyclopedia,* 1888-9.) He has done much church sculptural work. He later went to Warsaw and opened a studio there, which was well patronized. His model of the Kosciusko monument in Chicago got first prize, and he came to Chicago to undertake the work which was completed, and later was commissioned to create the Washington Pulaski equestrian statue. He is a member of National Sculpture Society and Architectural League of New York and resides in New York.

CLAIM OF COUNTESS JAROCKI.

In December, 1896, the Countess Jarocki, calling herself "the last descendant of Count Pulaski,"—which must mean of collateral issue,—was in this country claiming two millions of dollars, "her unchallenged inheritance," which she alleged the Count had advanced to the United States. "Yet," wrote Virginia Vaughan

to the *New York World* of December 19, 1896, "by this great government she was defrauded of her just rights, her hopes deferred, her claims ignored, until her wealth melted away, until she sank with poverty and obscurity, and at last, in extreme old age, has been driven by starvation and neglect to commit suicide."

We have seen by the statement of Captain Baldesqui, the Legion's disbursing officer, that fifty thousand dollars had been advanced by Pulaski in forming that Corps, and we have learned by Pulaski's Memorial to Congress just before his death that his family had sent him 100,000 *livres* ($20,000), which he was then expecting the arrival of. The accounts with the Legion were satisfactorily settled, so that we may fairly presume that the $50,000 advanced had been repaid. Whether the 100,000 *livres* came into his possession before his death and was applied to the uses of his Legion is not of known record. So it must have been—and in many like cases it is—a delusion of Countess Jarocki that two millions were due from the Government, though it is a fact that while the Count lost his estates, he was not without means when he came to this country, nor while in it and that he maintained an independent and not a servile attitude concerning money; that he had means available to advance his Legion when the Government itself found it difficult even to supply the fast lessening in value paper money. He had sufficient also to warrant his brother, after his death, to strive to secure it.

On February 8, 1908, the Sons of the Revolution of Georgia appointed a Committee to locate the site of the British redoubt where, on October 9, 1779, in an effort to retake the City, many American patriots and their French allies lost their lives among whom were Count Pulaski, Major Jones, Lieutenants Gray and Bush and Sergeant Jasper.

A year later—February 8, 1909—the Committee reported:

"The redoubt was 175 feet square. The western portion covered the road to Augusta, the road at this point having to make a slight detour to get around the redoubt. The redoubt was so located that practically two-thirds of it lay to the south of the Augusta road, extending across the present line of this road and one-third of it lying to the north of the present road. The intersection of the western face of this redoubt and the Augusta road, was on the circumference of a circle, the radius of which is 1,464 feet and its centre the southwestern corner of South Broad and

Jefferson Streets. Taking this as a basis with the present City map, we find that the western face of this redoubt crossed the Augusta road at a point 420 feet west of the western line of West Broad Street. McKimmon's map of 1801 shows that the spring was 565 feet west of the western line of West Broad Street, which would make the redoubt, according to McKimmon's map, 460 feet west of the western line, thus verifying the above point approximately, and, as the redoubt covered a space of ground about 175 feet square, the point of the Augusta road 420 feet west of Broad Street must be upon its site."

We are indebted to Mr. William Harden, Secretary of the Sons of the Revolution for this extract from the report.

PULASKI'S CHARACTER.

This is the estimate of the character and services of Pulaski by Jared Sparks:

"Pulaski in his private qualities seems to have been amiable, gentle, conciliating, candid, sincere, generous to his enemies and devoted to his friends. Amidst extreme party excitements and the feuds of a civil war, he was never known to embroil himself with the factions that distracted his country, nor to fall into dissensions with his military compatriots. His soldiers adhered to him as to a brother, and willingly endured fatigues and encountered perils, the most appalling, when encouraged by his approbation or led by his example. He possessed, in a remarkable degree, the power of winning and controlling men, a power so rare, that it may be considered not less the fruit of consummate art than a gift of nature. Energetic, vigilant, untiring in the pursuit of an object, fearless, fertile in resources, calm in danger, resolute and persevering under discouragements, he was always prepared for events and capable of effecting his purposes with the best chance of success. He was true to his principles and firm in maintaining them. An ardent attachment to his country and to her liberties, and the hope of rescuing her from the thraldom of despotic rule, were the motives which roused his indignant spirit, animated his zeal and nerved his arm in battle till the freedom of Poland had expired in the grasp of powerful and perfidious oppressors.

"During his short career in America, we perceive the same traits of character, and the same steady principles of action. That he gained and preserved the friendship of Washington, who more

than once in a public manner commended his military talents, his disinterestedness and zeal, is a sufficient proof of his merits as an officer, and his conduct as a man. His activity was unceasing, and his courage was conspicuous on every occasion in which he had an opportunity to meet the enemy. He embraced our cause as his own, harmonizing as it did with his principles and all the noble impulses of his nature. He lost his life defending it, thus acquiring the highest of all claims to the nation's remembrance and gratitude."

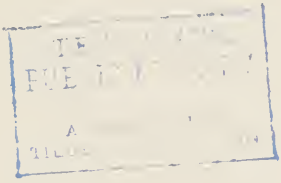
"THE OTHER SIDE OF PULASKI."

Judge Johnson's estimate of Pulaski (*Remarks,* p. 35) was:

"That Count Pulaski was as brave a man as ever lived, no one will deny. War was his trade and his sport; it was to him what the chase is to other men. And such is the effect of consummate courage, upon the popular eye, that we are ever ready to add to this lowest attribute of military talents, those higher qualities which ought to combine to form the distinguished General. Pulaski may have possessed those qualities, but he certainly had no opportunity of exhibiting them among us. On the contrary, when we see him entering with such devotion into the minor services of patrolling, reconnoitering, skirmishing, &c.; when we consider the surprise at Egg Harbor, the defeat before the lines of Charleston, and the chimerical undertakings at Stono and Savannah, we may well doubt whether he ever figured in the higher grades of warfare, and whether his contempt of death and fondness of military display, had not too much influence upon his judgment."

Thus closes our record of the career in our Country's defense of this noble son of Poland—THE FATHER OF THE AMERICAN CAVALRY. Greater proof of his devotion to Liberty he could not give than to strive for it in his native land and to give his life for it here. He was noble, chivalrous and brave. He is worthy of perpetual remembrance by his statue in enduring bronze adorning the Capital of the Country he aided in maintaining its Liberty and in achieving its Independence. So he saved it from the degradation and oppression which came upon his native land.

Appreciative acknowledgment is due Colonel John Smolinski, of Washington City; Frank P. Danisch, Esq., of Chicago, and the sculptor, Kasimir Chodzinski, of New York, for information and assistance in the preparation of the recital above given concerning the Memorial to Pulaski about to be unveiled at the Capital of our Nation.



Born in Poland A.D. 1756. Died the 10th October 1817 near Solothurn in Switzerland. [illegible] and Gl. Lafayette were the only two Europeans who wore the Cross of the Order of Cincinnatus

Presented to the Society [illegible]

GENERAL THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO

ENGINEER OF THE DEFENCES OF THE DELAWARE, OF THE BATTLE FIELD OF SARATOGA, OF THE DEFENCES OF WEST POINT AND OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE NORTHERN ARMY UNDER GENERAL GATES AND OF THE SOUTHERN ARMY UNDER GENERAL GREENE. THE FATHER OF THE AMERICAN ARTILLERY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES.

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CHAPTER I.

TRIBUTES TO KOSCIUSZKO.

One of our great Revolutionary Worthies. [Jefferson.]

* * * *

To his care and sedulous appreciation the American people are indebted for the defense of West Point. [Washington.]

* * * *

The brave auxiliary of my Country in her struggle for Liberty. [Jefferson to M. Jullien, July 23, 1818.]

* * * *

He is as pure a son of Liberty as I have ever known and of that liberty which is to go to all and not to the few or rich alone. [Thos. Jefferson to Gen. Gates, Phila., Feb. 21, 1798.]

* * * *

A great and good man—the friend of Freedom. [J. Coxe Barnet to Jefferson, Paris, Nov. 30, 1817.]

* * * *

The one illustrious foreign name on the roster of 1776. [Hatch's *Admin. Rev. Army,* p. 51.]

* * * *

His heroism in the field could only be equalled by his moderation and affability in private life. The soldiers idolized him for his bravery and the officers respected him for the goodness of his heart and the greatness of his mind. [*Am. Anecdotes,* II, 205.]

I welcome you to the land whose liberties you had been so instrumental in establishing. No one has a higher respect and veneration for your character than I have. [Washington, 31 Aug., 1797.]

* * * *

If as a statesman Kosciuszko was more ardent than sagacious, he manifested a skill and daring as a soldier which but for the overwhelming nature of his task would have gained him a place among the most mourned generals of his time, while his noble and chivalrous patriotism, untainted by any desire after self-glorification, has secured him the world's universal admiration and esteem. [*Encyl. Brittanica,* XIV, p. 142.]

* * * *

Kosciuszko towers above the field of conventional greatness. Studied from the beginning to the end of his career he appears without selfish ambition, without a single purpose save the welfare of his country and his kind. His record is stainless. It is safe to affirm that it is without a parallel in the annals of European military greatness. Not an act of cruelty or prejudice, not a drop of gratuitous blood attaches to his story. [Armstrong's *Heroes of Defeat,* p. 598.]

* * * *

A noble volunteer in the cause of Liberty in the New World and a fearless advocate for the freedom of his native land in the Old. [Niles' *Register,* p. 514, Ed. 1876.]

* * * *

A man who rendered essential personal service in the days of difficulty and danger. [Col. Campbell, 1808.]

* * * *

"There is Kosciuszko's name
Might scatter fire through ice, like Hecla's flame."

[*N. A. Rev.,* April, 1825, p. 377.]

* * * *

The memory of this renowned patriot and commander ought not to pass down the stream of time unheeded and unregarded for his devotion to the cause of Liberty in both hemispheres. . . . He will find the noblest of all monuments in the bosoms and recollections of every freeman within the pale of the civilized portion of the globe. [*Analetic Mag.,* 1818, p. 423.]

There is no heart friendly to Liberty, or an admirer of virtue and talent in whom the name of Kosciuszko does not excite sentiments of interest and respect. [Duke de Liancourt.]

* * * *

One of our most genuine foreign friends. [Jefferson to President Madison, Aug. 5, 1812.]

* * * *

The mass of our countrymen have the highest veneration and attachment to his character. [Thomas Jefferson, Nov. 30, 1798.]

* * * *

His Revolutionary services and general devotion to the cause of Liberty have rendered him dear to this Country as one of our great Revolutionary worthies. [Jefferson to Hon. G. W. Campbell, Secretary of the Treasury, May 8, 1814.]

* * * *

It is difficult to portray in all the brilliant light it deserves the life and character of one so pure, so heroic and so patriotic. He was an honored member of the Cincinnati and proud of being one, for he wore on his breast the decoration of the Society in the bloodiest battles he fought for his own country. The members of the Cincinnati should be proud of having on their rolls the name of one so true a man and soldier as that of the illustrious Kosciuszko. [Evans' *Memoirs.*]

* * * *

Oh, bloodiest picture in the book of Time,
Samatia fell, unwept, without a crime;
Found not a generous friend, a pitying foe,
Strength in her arms, nor mercy in her woe!
Dropped from her nerveless grasp, the shattered spear;
Closed her bright eyes and curb'd her high career.
Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,
And freedom shrieked as Kosciuszko fell. [Campbell.]

SENTIMENTS OF KOSCIUSZKO.

We'll conquer. [Kosciuszko to Gates, 18 May, 1777.]

I am not actuated by interest otherwise than the ambition of signalizing myself in this war. [Kosciuszko to Gates, 1777.]

I prefer Peace more than the greatest rank in the world. [Kosciuszko to Col. Troup, 17th Jan., 1778.]

I suppose to be myself at this time more than half a Yankee. [Kosciuszko to Gates, 3 March, 1779.]

CHAPTER II.

KOSCIUSZKO BEFORE COMING TO AMERICA—HIS COMING—ALLEGED MEETING WITH WASHINGTON—MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

Another Catholic Polander who served well our Country in the War of American Independence was Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

It is not within the scope of this work to fully narrate his career before or after his service in the Revolution. Our task is to record his career in aiding in the establishment of our Country's Liberty and Independence.

He was "descended from an ancient family in the palatinate of Brescia in Lithuania proper." The year of his birth in the Grand Dutchy of Silliciania, is uncertain. It is variously stated as February 12, 1746; in the years 1748, 1752 and 1756. That of 1752 is given in a *Memorial Relating to General Kosciuszko Previously to Joining the American Army* in the Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Series I, Vol. XIV, page 148, in the Library of Congress. It is signed A. W.

As during his service in the American Army he is spoken of as "a young man" it is probable he might not have been so called if born in 1746, as he would have been thirty years of age on coming to this Country and so scarcely likely to be regarded as noteworthy as "young." To place his birth at 1756 would make him but twenty on arriving in America. Though that was the age of Lafayette on coming to us it yet may be too young to accept 1756 as the birth year of Kosciuszko. The *Memorial* in the Jefferson Papers evidently written for Jefferson after the death of Kosciuszko and no doubt by one who knew accurately the birth date may be accepted so that 1752 is probably the correct year and February 12th the exact day.

The Memorial continues: His family was noble, and his patrimony considerable; circumstances which he justly appreciated, for as belonging to himself they were never matters of boasting, and rarely subjects of notice, and as the property of others only regarded as advantages when accompanied by good sense and good morals. The workings of his mind on the subject of civil liberty were early and vigorous; before he was twenty the vassalage of his serfs filled him with abhorrence and the first act of his manhood was to break their fetters.

In the domestic quarrel between the King and the Dissidents in 1761 he was too young to take part, but in the partition of Poland in 1772 (of which this quarrel was one of the pretences) he was engaged in the defence of his country and soon made himself sensible of the value of military education, which he afterwards sought at Paris. It was there and while prosecuting this object that he became acquainted with the name of America and the nature of the war in which the colonists were then engaged with the mother country. In the summer of 1776 he embarked for this country.

THE COMING OF KOSCIUSZKO.

How Kosciuszko came to come to this country seems difficult to tell. The statement of several writers that he came recommended to Washington by Benjamin Franklin is incorrect. Franklin was in Philadelphia, not having as yet gone on his mission to France. Silas Dean, his fellow-Commissioner, was in Paris in June, 1776, but no mention of Kosciuszko appears in his papers published by the New York Historical Society in five volumes. Nor is Kosciuszko mentioned in the Franklin papers in Library of Congress. So it would seem that Kosciuszko came of his own motion and at his own expense wholly unrecommended. His compatriot Pulaski did not apply to Deane for service in America until October, 1776, at which time Kosciuszko was in Philadelphia.

Neilson's *Campaign of Burgoyne,* published in 1842, gives the most probable account of his coming when relating that he had the direction of the works at Bemis Heights, says: "This celebrated engineer came to this country utterly unprovided with letters of recommendation or introduction and nearly penniless and offered himself as a volunteer in the American cause and solicited an interview with Washington."

Nor has it been discovered when or at which port Kosciuszko arrived in America. The first available record shows his presence in Philadelphia on August 30, 1776, when he presented a *Memorial* to Congress. This may indicate his arrival here as being during that months.

APPOINTED COLONEL.

The *Memorial* of August 30, 1776, unfortunately, is not among the Papers of Congress at the Library of Congress, but its purport may be kown by the action of Congress on October 18th when it was

"*Resolved,* That Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Esq., be appointed an Engineer in the service of the United States with the pay of sixty dollars a month and the rank of Colonel."

While waiting the action of Congress he had been useful to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety "in laying out a plan of fortification at Billingsport" near Red Bank, New Jersey. On October 23d the Council ordered £50 to be paid him "as a reward for his services."

On December 5, 1776, Congress ordered two months' pay to be advanced to him.

ALLEGED INTERVIEW WITH WASHINGTON.

It is related by several writers—one originating, the others following, no doubt—that it was not until "early in the year 1777" that he called on Washington, then encamped at Morristown, New Jersey. The story goes that Washington said to him:

"What do you seek here?"

"To fight for American Independence," was the noble reply.

"What can you do?" asked Washington.

"Try me," was the simple response of the Polish Patriot.

There was something in the bearing and deportment of Kosciuszko which won the confidence of Washington, and he was appointed an aide-de-camp on the staff of the General. It is said Kosciuszko taught the American army the science of engineering. [Sherman's *Historic Morristown,* p. 245.]

A writer in the *Analectic Magazine,* 1818, also tells of the interview in this way:

"Kosciuszko arrived at Washington's headquarters at Morristown at a fortunate moment, for hostilities had been recently commenced, and the defenders of Liberty, although numerous, active and resolute, were at the same time raw, ignorant, undisciplined and unacquainted with everything that appertains to the art of war. To such an army—if army it could then be called—this young and spirited Pole became a treasure." [*Analectic Mag.,* 1818, p. 424.]

Neilson, in *Campaign of Burgoyne,* tells the same story about Kosciuszko's first interview with Washington who abruptly asked him, "What do you seek here?" He does not, however, mention the place of the alleged meeting.

The *Memoir of Kosciuszko,* published for private circulation in 1888 by A. W. W. Evans, grandson of General White, of

the Revolutionary Army and on Washington's staff at Cambridge, relates the same story of Kosciuszko being asked what he came to America for; that Kosciuszko replied, "To fight for Liberty; try me, I am ready to do anything." Washington then appointed him one of his aides. General White being also an aide he and Kosciuszko "became fast friends and so remained through life."

They surely were "fast friends," as we shall learn in the narration of Kosciuszko's residence in this country—1797-8.

This is the latest recital of the story of Kosciuszko's first meeting with Washington. It places it at Cambridge, Mass., where Washington was encamped 1775-6. Evans relates that his grandmother told him much of Kosciuszko. So perhaps this is another "grandmother's story" like that of Betsy Ross and the Flag, Lydia Darragh and her alleged warning of Washington of the coming attack of the British and many other such like Revolutionary tales —all bringing in Washington of course.

It is a pretty story such as "popular history" passes along. We see the interview is put down as at Cambridge in 1775, somewhere in 1776 and at Morristown in "spring of 1777," while the alleged words of Washington and of Kosciuszko do not agree.

But such is the story of Kosciuszko's first meeting with Washington. It is scarcely worthy of credence. Kosciuszko was not at Cambridge in 1775. He was not in America. He was appointed Colonel of Engineers on October 18, 1776. John Hancock, President of Congress, on 24th so notified Washington then encamped at Harlem Heights, New York. Washington was not at Morristown until early in January, 1777. There he remained until the end of May.

No evidence has been discovered that Kosciuszko visited Washington's camp at Morristown. The evidence is that "in the Spring of 1777 he joined the Northern Army under General Schuyler." It is possible that Washington and Kosciuszko had not, up to this time, met. Washington, on November 10, 1777, writing to Henry Laurens, then President of Congress in session at York Town, Pennsylvania, said: "I have been well informed that the Engineer in the Northern army (Kosciuszko I think his name is) is a gentleman of science and merit. From the character I have had of him he is deserving of notice." [Ford's *Writings Wash.*, 6-183.]

Would he have written thus of one whom he had personally known—one who had been one of his staff?

ANOTHER ROMANCE.

Neilson also relates:

"Kosciuszko had not been long in America when he had occasion to display his undaunted courage, as a captain of a Company of Volunteers. Generals Wayne and Lafayette, notwithstanding the heat of the battle in which they were engaged, observed with satisfaction the exertions of that company, which advanced beyond all the rest and made its attack in the best manner.

"'Who led the first Company?' asked Lafayette of his comrades on the morning of that memorable day—30th September. The answer was, 'It is a young Pole, of noble birth but very poor. His name, if I am not mistaken, is Kosciuszko.'

"The sound of this unusual name, which he could hardly pronounce, filled the French hero with so eager a desire for the brave stranger's acquaintance that he ordered his horse to be immediately saddled and rode to the village about two miles off where the volunteers were quartered for the night.

"Who shall describe the pleasure of the one or the surprise of the other. When the General entered the tent, saw the Captain still covered from head to foot with blood, dust and sweat, seated at a table, his head resting on his hand and pen and ink by his side. A cordial grasp of the hand imparted to the modest hero his commander's satisfaction and the object of a visit paid at so unusual an hour." [Neilson: *Campaign of Burgoyne*, p. 118-9.]

The "hole" in this story is that the year of the "memorable day, 30th of September" is not given. The 30th of September, 1776, Lafayette was not in America, Washington was at Harlem Heights, New York, and Kosciuszko was in Philadelphia seeking an appointment from Congress. If the 30th of September, 1777, is intended as it appears probable from the joining of the names of Wayne and Lafayette then the battle of Brandywine, September 11th is meant, as that is where Lafayette first engaged in battle. At this time, however, Kosciuszko was engaged in the campaign in Northern New York where neither Wayne nor Lafayette were or could be "barin they were birds," as Sir Boyle Roche said.

WHERE WAS HE?

Where Kosciuszko was in December, 1776, during the operations of Washington's fast depleting army, the attack on the Hessians at Trenton and at Princeton, records have not been dis-

covered to show. We may say he must have been with Washington's army as a volunteer and having no command nor engineering duty assigned him, no records were made of his doings. He was a Colonel then not a Captain.

As Congress, December 5, 1776, ordered two months' pay to be "advanced" him, it is probable he was in Philadelphia that most exciting month when the British were marching on to Philadelphia, driving Washington before them until at Trenton and Princeton they were hurled back.

Amid all the alarm and hastening of militia to Washington's help, Kosciuszko could not have withheld his aid to Washington, when even the seaman, Captain John Barry, hastened to Washington with a Company of Volunteers and his other fellow-Catholics, Colonel Stephen Moylan and Captain Thomas FitzSimmons were also active and helpful. No engineering being possible on Washington's retreat, Colonel Kosciuszko's services were not called into action. There are, however, no known documents to show his presence with Washington then. If he ever saw Washington soon after his arrival in America it may have been during this Campaign, but he was a Colonel then.

CHAPTER III.

ENGAGES IN THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN UNDER GENERALS SCHUYLER AND GATES—PREPARES DEFENCES OF TICONDEROGA—HIS REPORTS TO GENERAL GATES.

An extensive plan of operations was projected by the British for the campaign of 1777. It "contemplated the annihilation of resistance in all the country between the Lakes and Albany (thus severing the Union) and the conquest of Pennsylvania whose capital, Philadelphia, was the metropolis of the American States." [Lee's *Memoirs,* p. 83.]

Without undertaking to relate the progress of events in this campaign, it is only necessary to relate that General Burgoyne with an army of seven thousand, exclusive of Canadians and Indians, entered Northern New York to meet the American forces under Generals Schuyler, Gates and St. Clair. Congress had, in February, ordered cannon to Ticonderoga and appointed Arthur St. Clair Major-General, with instructions to serve under Gates, but that prior to proceeding he should come to Philadelphia and await the orders of Congress. This he did, but was given two weeks leave of absence in order to see his family. So that it was not until May he proceeded Northward.

May 22, 1777. From Ticonderoga General Wilkinson wrote to General Gates: "I wish to heaven either yourself or Gen. St. Clair was here for a few days. Colonel Kosciuszko is timidly modest." [*St. Clair Papers,* I, 51.]

KOSCIUSZKO, "A CAPABLE YOUNG MAN," FORTIFIES TICONDEROGA.

General St. Clair arrived at Albany about May 23, 1777, as appears from the following letter of General Gates to General Paterson. It is in *Papers of Congress,* 154; I, 222:

General St. Clair, whom I hourly expect, is not yet arrived. He, and General D'Fermoy, will set out directly for Ticonderoga; and I hope General Poor, and all the New Hampshire Regiments, Complete, are by this Time with You. Fifteen Hundred Militia, from the County of Hampshire, in the Massachusett's State, are on their March, and will very shortly reinforce Your Garrison. The bearer, Mr. Egberts, carrys Returns of Ordnance Stores, forwarded from hence in the course of the last Four Months; he has my Orders to hunt them up, and if possible discover where, by the

Villainy, or neglect of those employ'd to Transport them, they are deposited. I must desire You will Issue the General Orders Inclosed, the next day after You receive them. I entreat, my Dear General, that You will keep every Soul at Work to Strengthen Our posts: perhaps the Enemy may give us Two Months, before they come again to *look* at Ticonderoga; let us regard those two Months, as the most precious Time we have to Live: they may be worth an Age of Droning peace, and, well employ'd, may give happiness, and peace to Millions. I earnestly recommend it to You, to order Lieut. Colonel Kosciuszko's plan, to be immediately put in Execution; doing the most defensible parts first. Colonel Baldwin will gain my Affection, and Esteem, by cultivating the Friendship of that Capable Young Man; and he may be assured, he can in nothing serve his Country more, than in going hand in hand, with him, in improving the Fortifications of Ticonderoga. My Compliments to The Field Officers; acquaint them, I expect prosperity and happiness will Result, from their Zeal and Activity, being in an Animated Manner employ'd at this Critical Juncture, to Serve their Country.

The Military Journal of the Hessian General, *Riedesel,* in describing Ticonderoga and the forts south of it, recorded: "A French engineer officer has lately reached the rebel army and was appointed Engineer-in-Chief."

This was Kosciuszko.

PLAN OF DEFENCE OF TICONDEROGA.

That Kosciuszko "was a capable young man" and worthy of confidence in his ability General Gates had come to believe from his plan for the defense of the upper Hudson where General Paterson was in command.

In May, 1777, Kosciuszko reported to Gates, then at Albany:

(*Translation.*)

In consequence of your Orders I have visited every part or place, & from My remarks I send you the plan; what appears in black is what actually remains, what you see in red is my Scheme. As I perceived my Genl. that the trench lines are not properly defended, & that they are in a situation to be repaired, I think necessary to make some alterations at the same time, in some places vizt in g.

If we have a large Garrison, & as those three Redoubts are ready made as expressed by 1; a communication will be necessary, by the lines expressed in Red, that a greater resistance may be made agt. the Enemy. & cover to the Troops sent as a reinforcement in case of an Attack on this side, otherwise they cannot pass to sustain the Attack without being perceived by the Enemy, therefore the Entrenchment A A A will answer that end.

If the Garrison should be small, which appears likely. I think that the Entrenchments A A B B will answer better, because we shall be near at hand to give one another assistance in Case of an Attack, also because we shall have no difficulty in saving the Cannon of the redoubts 111 from their distance, particularly if heavy Cannon should be mounted in that near or towards the Lake, which was made to annoy the shipping. Should they force us which I cannot believe making the Entrenchment well; we can make another which will not cost much Labour expressed by C C B.

I also observed, My Genl., that the Old Redoubt E is very bad for stopping the passage of shipping, more particularly as heavy Cannon cannot be mounted on it; only small & not more than 2 pieces, for the building inside. For which reason, it appears to me necessary to make the Redoubt D. My opinion & advice is asked. I cannot help giving my sentiments in regard to the Entrenchments. My General I request the favour you would not give me Orders to proceed, before your arrival. I will give you the reason, I love peace & to be on good terms with all the world if possible, if my opinion or Ideas are adopted, which may be better I should the more so being a stranger I am convinced how much I ought to be on my Guard, as also have regard to nationality but our work would not be better.

I declare sincerely that I am susceptible, & love peace I would chuse rather to leave all, return home & plant Cabages; as yet my Genl. I have no reason of complaint of any one, I was well received by Genl. Paterson who overcome me with Politeness, all the Officers are extreamly Friendly.

I forgot to observe my Genl. if the 2d Idea takes place it will be necessary to level all the four Redoubts 1111. [*Gates' Papers,* N. Y. His. Soc.]

This plan is not among the *Gates' Papers* in the New York Historical Society. Where is it?

THE ENEMY CANNOT HURT US.

On May 18, 1777, Kosciuszko wrote Gates:

(*Translation.*)

My Opinion may be dangerous. I say if we have time to make an Entrenchment like what I had the honour to send you a Model of; with the addition of a triffling thing towards the Lake to prevent the passage of shipping. I say the Enemy cannot hurt us; we have an excellent place not only to resist the Enemy, but beat them, but Courage & more artillery men will be necessary, for we have only one Company & that is not enough; we ought to have three.

The Bridge is not yet finished nevertheless it must be; I say nothing of what unnecessary works have been carried on you will be a Judge yourself my Genl. we are very fond here of making Block houses & they are all erected in the most improper places. Nevertheless Genl. we'll conquer headed by your Excellency, our steady attachment to you, will be a great inducement added to the Sacred Duty which has engaged us to Defend this Country. If we cannot have more artillery men it will be necessary to Draft some soldiers & exercise them having great occasion. [*Gates' Papers,* N. Y. His. Soc.]

SEND KOSCIUSZKO.

In May, 1777, Colonel Wilkinson wrote General Gates, "Colonel Kosciuszko is modest in the extreme. For God's sake let Kosciuszko come back as soon as possible with proper authority."

In his *Memoirs* General Wilkinson says: "The illfated Thaddeus Kosciuszko was at that time our chief engineer and for months had been the companion of my blanket; he selected a portion for a fortified camp, about four miles below Fort Edward, at Moses' Creek. The troops were organized into divisions, and occupied the opposite side of the River, ground was broken on the island for a battery to command the pass." [P. 200.]

In an undated letter, probably May or June, 1777, Colonel Kosciuszko wrote to General Gates, whom he had heard was to be transferred elsewhere:

An opportunity now presents to lay before you the real sentiments of my heart Also my present Ideas. If your love for your Country and your easy manner of communicating yourself to every one has attached me to you, among other things, your Great Mili-

tary knowledge and true merit has so much inspired my confidence in you, that I should be happy to be with you every where. Be persuaded General, that I am not actuated by Interest, otherwise than the ambition of signalizing myself in this War. And I seek an opportunity, which I am of opinion can never be better, than under your Auspices. If the Works at Ticonderoga, should be any hindrance to my going with you, that will be but triffling, because I can in a very short time, do what is necessary for this Campaign. Inform me Genl. if I may prepare to go with you. You know well, that the change of a Commander esteemed by the Troops has considerable effect on their minds.

I flatter myself, General, that you will grant me my request, which cannot but increase my Attachment to you, and encourage my utmost endeavours to gain your Esteem. [*Gates' Papers,* N. Y. His. Soc.]

General Schuyler from Fort Edward on July 16, 1777, wrote Kosciuszko, saying:

"I have sent one of the Quartermasters to Saratoga and the post below to bring up all the Axes which can be collected, and to deliver them to you. Colo. Lewis has my orders to send you a horse immediately. I will give the orders for moving General Fermoy's and General Patterson's Brigade to-morrow and dispose of them in the manner you wish. [*American Antiquarian Soc.,* Worcester, Mass.]

Burgoyne in July forced the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence. Proceeding southward after "repeated advantages over the broken and dispirited troops" of St. Clair, he was met by Gates' army, superior in numbers and at Saratoga was forced to surrender his whole army. In all these operations Kosciuszko was active, vigilant and useful, and proved he was "capable" as Gates found him and that he possessed "Science and merit" as Washington later declared from the demonstrations of his knowledge and experience in this campaign.

On August 16, 1777, came the battle at Bennington, Vermont, won by General Stark acting in accord with Gates. It was the beginning of discomforture and capture of Burgoyne. Concerning it Levi Lincoln, afterwards Attorney-General of the United States in Jefferson's cabinet, wrote to General Benjamin Lincoln from Worcester on August 24, 1777, saying:

". . . The spirits of the people from the evacuation of Ticon-

deroga, the consequent retreat, the ill timed jealousies, and suspicions of some of our continental officers, and the Jesuitical practices of our internal foes, the tories, had been for some time declining, but this . . . elevated us many degrees above par. . . ." [*Libbie*, 2, 15, 1910.]

For abandoning Forts Ticonderoga and Independence, General St. Clair was Court-martialed. Trial Court met at White Plains, August 23, 1778. Colonel Kosciuszko was a witness in defense of St. Clair. He declared that Ticonderoga was abandoned as it was impossible to maintain the works at Fort Independence. That works were begun to improve the redoubts on the higher ground; that he laid out the lines and prepared the fascines after General Schuyler left and otherwise gave testimony favorable to St. Clair. [*St. Clair Papers,* I, 448-9.]

After the evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga by St. Clair and the advance of Burgoyne to Skenesborough on his way to the Hudson, bridges were broken down and obstructions made Wood Creek unnavigable. A Council of officers decided that Fort Edward was untenable, a position for a fortified camp was selected by Col. Kosciuszko at Moses' Creek where the waters of the Hudson are separated by an island. The position was a strong one. As reinforcements were not available, Schuyler deemed it expedient to retire from Moses' Creek and establish a camp near the base of supplies. He located on the islands at the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson. Burgoyne then sent the Indians under his command to prevent by their terror the Americans from continuing the operations. He had no heart in the use of Indians but used them by command of the home government. "He attempted to restrain them by placing over them priests and other Canadians of character, but the result was disappointing to him. [*St. Clair Papers,* I, 33.]

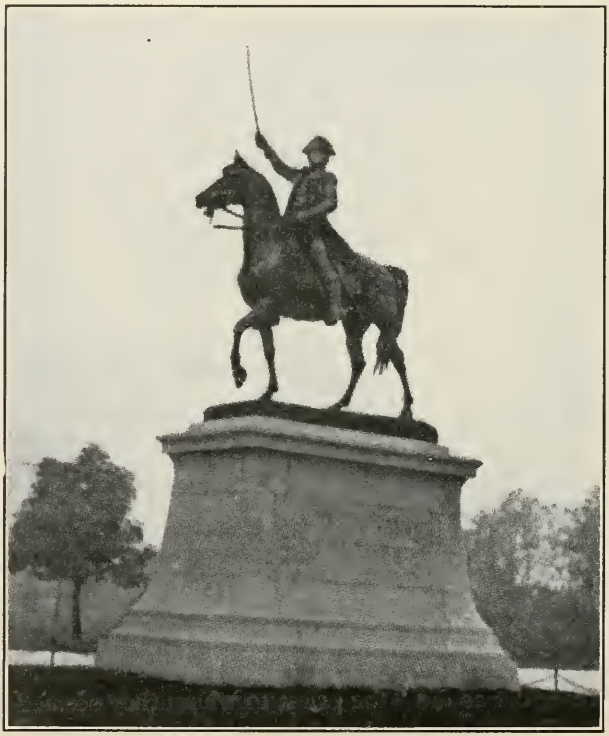
THE PRIEST AND THE INDIANS.

General St. Clair's statement that Burgoyne, intending only to terrify the inhabitants, endeavored to restrain the cruelty of the Indians by "placing over them priests" is not fully borne out by Burgoyne's own account in his *Narrative* of the campaign, when called on upon his return to England, to stand a Court of Inquiry relative to his conduct of the operations. He counselled the Indians as to their conduct as did "the priest to whom they seemed devoted and the British officers employed to conduct them and to whose

control they engaged to submit." That was that in addition to his own advice to restrain their bloodthirstiness the priest in Canada had joined Burgoyne in like counsel. Burgoyne said the Indians "gained advantages and spread terror without barbarity." [P. 7.]

THE TYRANNY OF "THE REBELS" WORSE THAN THE "INQUISITION OF THE ROMISH CHURCH."

Burgoyne in a Proclamation to the People had declared, "I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction (and they amount to thousands) to overtake the hardened enemies of great Britain and America." He declared, "the present unnatural Rebellion to be the foundation for the completest system of tyranny that God ever, in His displeasure suffered for a time to be exercised over a froward and stubborn generation. Arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of property, persecution and torture unprecedented in the Inquisition of the Romish Church are among the most palpable enormities." [Digby's *Journal,* p. 190.]



KOSCIUSZKO'S MONUMENT AT HUMBOLDT PARK, CHICAGO

CHAPTER IV.

KOSCIUSZKO SELECTS THE GROUND FOR THE BATTLE OF SARATOGA AND THE CAPTURE OF BURGOYNE'S ARMY.

The *Memorial* in *Jefferson's Papers,* Series I, Vol. XIV, p. 148A, in the Library of Congress, relates:

Services of the General During the war. In the spring of 1777 he joined the northern army, and in July following the writer of this notice left him on Lake Champlain engaged in strengthening our works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. The unfortunate character of the early part of this campaign is sufficiently known. In the retreat of the American army Kosciuszko was distinguished for activity and courage, and upon him devolved the choice of camps and posts and everything connected with fortifications. The last position taken by the army while commanded by Gen. Schuyler was on an island in the Hudson near the mouth of the Mohawk river, and within a few miles of Albany. Here Gates, who had superseded Schuyler, found the army on the [18] day of August. Public feeling and opinion were strikingly affected by the arrival of this officer, who gave it a full and taking impression by ordering the army to advance upon the enemy. The state of things at that moment are well and faithfully expressed by that distinguished officer, Col. Udney Hay, in a letter to a friend. "Fortune," says he, "as if tired of persecuting us, had began to change, and Burgoyne had suffered materially on both his flanks. But these things were not of our doing; the main army, as it was called, was hunted from post to pillar, and dared not to measure its strength with the enemy; much was wanting to reinspire it with confidence in itself, with that self-respect without which an army is but a flock of sheep, a proof of which is found in the fact, that we have thanked in general orders a detachment double the force of that of the enemy, for having dared to return their fire. From this miserable state of despondency and terror, Gates' arrival raised us, as if by magic. We began to hope and then to act. Our first step was to Stillwater, and we are now on the heights called Bhemus', looking the enemy boldly in the face. Kosciuszko has selected this ground, and has covered its weak point (its right) with redoubts from the hill to the river." In front of this camp thus fortified two battles were fought, which eventuated in the retreat of the enemy and his surrender at Saratoga!

KOSCIUSZKO SELECTED THE GROUND.

Thus it appears Kosciuszko selected the ground and fortified it which brought on the surrender of Burgoyne, the first important action of the war, which secured the alliance with France in February following—1778.

THE THERMOPYLAI OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

General Schuyler moved his forces to Van Schaick's Island at the mouth of the Mohawk. On August 18th General Gates took command and on September 8th occupied Bemis' Heights with six thousand men.

"The ground was examined, a line of entrenchments traced and a fatigue of one thousand men put to work under Kosciuszko." [Wilkinson's *Memoirs,* p. 252.]

Burgoyne's first check was at Bennington, Vermont, on August 16, 1777, by General Stark's "Green Mountain Boys" armed with French guns sent by Beaumarchais (before the French government would aid America) and which never were paid for. Burgoyne continuing Southward forced Gates to retire until reaching Saratoga where he posted his army, October 7th. The position selected lay between the Hudson river on the east and Saratoga Lake only six miles to the west; the high lands west of the river valley were cut by three deep ravines leading easterly, forming strong natural barriers against an approaching army; the whole country was a wilderness, and the high ground approached so near the river there that it was the most advantageous point in the whole valley to dispute the British army moving south. Such was the place selected by the experienced Polish Patriot, Kosciuszko, and approved by Gates as the Thermopylai of the Struggle for American Independence. [Gen. Ballard's *Address,* July 4, 1776.]

The result of the movements of Burgoyne and the operations of Gates was the surrender, on October 17th, of Burgoyne's army of ten thousand.

"It was the turning point of the Revolution. . . . Without Saratoga Independence might not have been secured and our country turned into an Ireland." [Fisher's *True Rev.,* p. 356.]

Burgoyne was confronted with a line of breastworks cast up under the direction of Kosciuszko, extending from the Hudson River westward over the ridge known as Bemis' Heights. They

were well manned and armed, for Gates was now liberally supplied with artillery.

And Kosciuszko had "selected the ground" for "the turning point of the Revolution," the victory which secured the alliance of France.

"The Americans deserve to win," said Vergennes on hearing of the surrender.

KOSCIUSZKO'S MONUMENT AT WEST POINT, NEW YORK

CHAPTER V.

STANDS BY GENERAL ST. CLAIR—PROMOTION CONSIDERED—PEACE BEFORE RANK—JEALOUSY OF FOREIGNERS—PHILADELPHIA CAPTURED—CONGRESS AT YORK—KOSCIUSZKO THERE—ORDERED TO WEST POINT TO FORTIFY IT.

The loss of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence, by General Arthur St. Clair, caused reflections to be passed upon his military ability. At this juncture Kosciuszko wrote him:

My General—Be well persuaded that I am wholly attached to you for your peculiar (*seul*) merit and the knowledge of the Military art which you most assuredly (*tres Bien*) possess. If the retreat from Ticonderoga has drawn upon you many Talkers and to some Jealous persons has furnished the occasion of under-mining you, even to the point of saying yesterday at dinner, that it is necessary that someone be sacrificed for the public good, it seems to me rather for their own. Therefore my General it is necessary to take care and to try and shut their mouths. I offer you my services, to reply to give reasons the most convincing with the plan. My General I shall be in despair if we are going to lose (*quiter*) you, so I have already Begun to say to Our Generals and Colonels that in losing (*perdant*) you we should draw upon ourselves the greatest dishonor; they are convinced of the truth and they will rather quit the service.

I am well persuaded My General that you are in a position yourself to Give Reasons for the retreat but As it is a matter which touches rather my condition I shall wish to be useful to you here in some way, therefore make use of me. [*Papers, Kosciuszko.*]

Though Congress had declared Kosciuszko was to "rank Colonel," he was by General Gates to General Paterson spoken of as "Lieutenant-Colonel," though General Schuyler addressed him as "Colonel." It appears that "promotion" was being considered as due him. He wrote Colonel Troup from Albany, 17 January, 1778:

PEACE BEFORE RANK.

I am very sorry that I am unable to express my sentiments in your Language, so that they would satisfy my desire, and to be sufficiently thankful for your Friendship & good wishes. I am far from possessing such Qualities as you mention—it is true I

endeavour to gain Esteem of every body, and if I succeed I shall be very happy, but it is very difficult. For my sincerity, I can assure you, my word always agree with my Heart—but you must not believe me, if you will have me for your Friend; which I should be very glad of; you must be better acquainted with my Character, you cannot loose by, because if you then see in me such as you desire, I get more of your Esteem, and we shall both be very happy take such precaution for every body of your acquaintance.

My Dear Colonel if you see that my promotion will make a great many Jealous, tell the General that I will not accept of one because I prefer peace more than the greatest Rank in the World.

JEALOUS OF FOREIGNERS.

After the surrender of Burgoyne, Kosciuszko continued with the army operating along the Hudson River, so as to preserve the communication with New England.

Though there was, in the case of Count Pulaski and of other foreign officers, a jealousy existing on the part of native officers, there appears no signs of this spirit towards Kosciuszko, unless his reference to jealousy be an indication that the spirit of anti-foreignism might be a basis of opposition to his promotion. But no promotion came then. If opposition to Kosciuszko did not exist though he was a foreigner, that, doubtless, was because he was an Engineer and thoroughly skilled in the profession, which the Americans had few proficient in, but were almost wholly dependent upon the four engineers engaged by Silas Deane in Paris.

It would appear more probable, however, that Kosciuszko's promotion, judging from his letter to Gates, in April, 1781, was delayed, because if he were advanced to Brigadier-General, the Frenchman General Du Portail would have to be promoted to Major-General. He had come to America under agreement with Deane as to rank. Congress, loth to accept Deane's engagements, seemed averse to Du Portail's promotion. So Kosciuszko had to remain a Colonel until the war was over.

Elbridge Gerry who warns Congress at the time jealousy and opposition was being manifested towards Pulaski and others, wrote from York Town, Pa., where Congress was in session (as the British were in Philadelphia), on February 7, 1778, to General Knox, the Chief of Artillery:

"It appears to me that ye army have generally mistaken

Notions of Honor, when they suppose that a foreign Officer of great experience cannot be introduced to high rank without disgracing all below him. I have as great prejudice in favor of my Countrymen as any person, perhaps on Earth: and will readily grant, that with ye same Degree of Experience & under similar advantages, no Officers whatever will exceed them in skill and prowess; but can any person suppose that a year or two in ye Service of ye United States, will qualify an Officer, as well as ten or twenty years service in ye Armies of Europe? & has not our cause been almost ruined, does it not at this instant suffer greatly for ye want of experienced officers: under these circumstances then is it not evident, that ye Honor of an Officer who readily consents to promote ye Service of his Country by giving place to Experience, is established, whilst those who oppose this, do it at ye Expense of their reputation." [*Life of Gerry,* Vol. I, pp. 241-244.]

A month before the surrender of Burgoyne (October 17, 1777), the British had captured Philadelphia (September 27). Congress, obliged to quickly remove, went, first, to Lancaster and later to York Town, now called, simply, York, Pennsylvania. That town became the Capital of the "Rebellious Colonies." The Board of War newly appointed, with General Gates as President, assembled there. Colonel Kosciuszko also was there with General Gates, to whom he was much attached.

At a meeting of the Board of War on March 5, 1778, General Gates presiding, the consideration of the defences of West Point and posts on the North River the "Board came to the following determination: That Colonel Kosciuszko be directed to repair to the army under General Putnam to be employed as shall be thought proper as an Engineer." Colonel la Radière was then at West Point as chief engineer. [*Papers, Clinton,* II, 847.]

Radière by temperament was unfitted to direct men and though well informed did not meet the approbation of his comrade officers. On March 11, 1778, he left, not "choosing to risk his reputation on works erected on a different scale calculated for a short duration only. [Boynton *His.,* p. 69.]

Radière died at New Windsor, Connecticut, on October 30, 1779. Kosciuszko arrived at West Point, March 26, 1778. [Boynton *His.*]

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNOR CLINTON RECOMMENDS KOSCIUSZKO — CONSTRUCTS DEFENSE WORKS AT WEST POINT—IS MUCH ESTEEMED—MCDOUGAL FEARS THE WORKS NOT SATISFACTORY.

Governor George Clinton, of New York, on March 26, 1778, from Poughkeepsie wrote to General Parsons introducing Kosciuszko, saying:

"Colo. Kosciuszko who by a resolve of Congress is directed to act as Engineer at the works, for the security of the river, will deliver this to you. I believe you will find him an Ingenious young man and disposed to do everything he can in the most agreeable manner." [*Papers, Clinton,* III, p. 86.]

Though Boynton gives March 11, 1778, as the date of Radière leaving West Point and being succeeded by Kosciuszko, Radière's withdrawal must not have been known to Washington then at Valley Forge. He had, on March 16th, sent General McDougal to command West Point. He arrived on the 28th. On April 6th Washington wrote McDougal:

The presence of Col. de la Radière rendering the services of Mr. Kosciuszko as Engineer at Fishkill unnecessary, you are to give him immediate orders to join this army without loss of time.

P.S.—However desirous I am of having Mr. Kosciuszko here, if he is employed in any special service by order of Congress or the Board of War, the above order you will set aside. [*McDougal MSS.,* West Point.]

So the order was "set aside."

General McDougal, on March 31st, had been informed by Washington that as "part of the British troops had left New York," it would be necessary "either to oppose our whole force" to the British there or "take advantage of them elsewhere." So he directed McDougal to confer with Governor Clinton and General Parsons as to the "advisableness" of attacking the British at New York. On April 8th Washington wrote McDougal the expedition against New York was left to his "own good judgment and those whom I desired you to consult. If you find the enemy are not in a situation to make an attack on you but still too strong for you to attempt anything against them," then Van Schaick's regiment was to be sent to him at Valley Forge.

McDougal was pursuing the construction of the works at West Point. He wrote Washington, April 13th, that the fort was so nearly enclosed as to resist a sudden attack of the enemy. But the heights near it were such, that the fort would not be tenable if the enemy should possess them. "For this reason we are obliged to make some works on them. It will require 5,000 men effectually to secure the grounds near the fort which commands it. And these objections exist against almost all the points on the river, proper for erecting works to annoy the shipping. Mr. Kosciuszko is esteemed by those who have attended the works at West Point, to have more practice than Colonel Radière, and his manner of treating the people is more acceptable than that of the latter; which induced General Parsons and Governor Clinton to desire Kosciuszko may be continued at West Point." [*Sparks*, V, 311.]

As General Putnam and Kosciuszko had served under Gates in the Northern Campaign, Putnam's practical skill and experience rendered him a valuable adviser of the Engineer, who soon laid out Forts Wyllie, Webb and Putnam to protect West Point in the rear or land side in case the British advanced from New York.

MUCH ESTEEMED.

On the 18th of April Colonel Robert Troup, at Fishkill, above West Point, wrote General Gates, President of the Board of War, that the works at West Point were in a great state of forwardness; that Kosciuszko was very much esteemed as an able engineer and had made many alterations in the works which were universally approved. [Boynton's *His. W. P.*, p. 68.]

The following document from the McDougal manuscripts at West Point show the number under his direction:

Return of the Artificers at West Point under the command of Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Chief Engineer in the Middle Department. West Point, April 27, 1778. Companies—Field Officers: Capt. Thayer's carpenters, Capt. Blake's, Capt. Pendleton's, Lieut. Thorp's, Sergeant Cullom's, Sergeant Whiteman, Capt. Stagg's masons; total, 1 Colonel, Engineer; 1 Major, Engineer; 3 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Clerk, 1 Foreman, 7 Sergeants, 129 Present fit for Duty, 8 sick, present; 6 sick, absent; 19 Cooks, 2 absent, 9 in Command, 4 on Furlough; total, 177.

In the *Narrative of Samuel Richards* (*U. S. Service Magazine*, Oct., 1903) he relates:

I quartered a considerable time with Kosciuszko in the same log hut, and soon discovered in him an elevation of mind which gave fair promise of those high achievements to which he attained. His manners were soft and conciliating and, at the same time, elevated. I used to take much pleasure in accompanying him with his theodolite, measuring the heights of the surrounding mountains. He was very ready in mathematics. [*Centennial History W. P.*]

Hugh Hughes, D. Q. M. General, to General Clinton, Fishkill, 1st May, 1778, when the news of the French Alliance had come, wrote:

"A number of the friends to freedom and independence, chiefly N Yorkers, have agreed to spend a day in social festivity on account of the aforesaid intelligence, for which purpose they have provided an ox which is to be roasted whole, etc., etc., and beg that yourself and such gentlemen as are most agreeable will do them the honour of their Company. His Excellency and the General, as well as many others, are expected. If the weather permits tomorrow, it is to take place.—There will be quite time enough if you set out after breakfast.

"In particular, I would beg that Capt. Machin & Col. Cusyesco (Kosciuszko) may be of the party."

General Alexander McDougal to Governor Clinton from Fishkill, May 11, 1778:

"I am far from being pleased with Mr. Korsuaso's constructing the batteries and carrying on the works and I fear they will not answer the expectations of the Country." [*Clinton Papers,* III, p. 290.]

But Kosciuszko gave so much satisfaction to the people at West Point that General Parsons and Governor Clinton joined in desiring that he might be continued. Washington said of him:

"To his care and sedulous appreciation the American people are indebted for the defense of West Point." [Boynton's *His.,* Vol. I, p. 11.]

His batteries and works met "the expectations of the Country."

CHAPTER VII.

HIS GARDEN AT WEST POINT—DUEL BETWEEN GATES AND WILKINSON —KOSCIUSZKO ACTS AS SECOND.

KOSCIUSZKO'S GARDEN.

Dr. Thatcher's *Journal,* July 28, 1778, records: "Here I had the pleasure of being introduced to Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a gentleman of distinction, from Poland. Having recently arrived in our country, he is employed in the engineering department with the rank of Colonel. He has amused himself, while stationed at this point, in laying out a curious garden in a deep valley, abounding more in rocks than in soil. I was gratified in viewing his curious water fountain with spouting jets and cascades."

Colton's *Guide to West Point,* 1842, speaks of the Garden then being a scene of wondrous beauty much resorted to.

Boynton's *History of West Point,* published in 1863, said of the Garden: "The marble fountain, the shrubbery and the secluded seats, with an occasional bit of ribbon or a glove, suggest that it is yet a resort for some who, it is hoped, are as patriotic and quite as sincere as the unfortunate Pole."

The "Garden" is still there—as a location within the Military Academy grounds, but it is in a neglected condition. On the day of my visit to West Point, January 25, 1910, a severe snow storm debarred a visit to the Garden, but I was assured of its neglected condition. It should be restored to its old-time beauty of flower, shrub and blooming plants and "spouting jets and cascades," as Kosciuszko loved to have it in his hours of relaxation.

DUEL OF GATES AND WILKINSON.

On the defeat and surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, General Gates sent General James Wilkinson to report, not to Washington, the Commander-in-Chief, as he should have done, but to Congress, then at York Town, Pennsylvania. On the way there Wilkinson stopping at Reading, Pa., indulged too freely. He declared that General Thomas Conway, an Irishman in the French service who had come to America in consequence of agreement with the American Commissioners, had written General Gates, "Heaven has determined to save your Country or a weak General and bad coun-

sellors would have ruined it." This was made known to Washington. He wrote to Gates simply giving the words reported to him.

This was a part of the famous—or infamous—"Conway Cabal" designed to oust Washington from the command and to install Gates as Commander-in-Chief. It is not within the purvey of our work to narrate the affair further than it relates to Kosciuszko.

Gates, in February, 1778, being at New York, as President of the Board of War, had controversy with Wilkinson for his part in the affair. This led, in February, 1778, to a challenge to Gates by Wilkinson to meet him in the morning at the Episcopal Church Lawn. They met but Gates greeted Wilkinson in a friendly manner and they became reconciled apparently.

But later in the year when both were at General St. Clair's headquarters at West Point, hostilities again arose between them and again challenge was made and accepted. Captain John Carter acted as second for Wilkinson and Kosciuszko for Gates. They met on September 4, 1778, at West Point. The weapons were flint lock pistols. At first fire Gates fired in the air and Wilkinson's powder flashed in the pan. At second time Wilkinson fired and missed Gates, while Gates refused to fire. At third attempt Wilkinson fired but missed Gates. Gates' pistol again flashed. The seconds then interfered and the antagonists shook hands. Gates signed a certificate that Wilkinson at York had behaved as a gentleman of honor. Wilkinson refused to sign a similar certificate for Gates.

Dr. Thatcher's *Revolutionary Journal* (p. 176, Ed. 1823) says: The gentlemen, it is said, displayed firmness and bravery becoming their rank and character and have established their claim to the title of gentlemen of *honor*. As their courage has never been called into question, the present recontre was unnecessary, unless it be to evince that they possess malice enough in their heart to commit a murderous act.

KOSCIUSZKO DEFENDS GATES.

But some controversy arose in September about these meetings, for on 28th September, 1778, Kosciuszko wrote from West Point to General Gates:

"I have answer to Carter in York Paper if you find good in your part I am very happy if not. I will publish more in the next as you Judge proper to add. Believe me Sir that I have real attach-

ment for you, and I have nothing so in view as your reputation which is dearest at present for me than mine."

On October 6th, still at West Point, he wrote Gates:

"The Printer wrote me that he cannot publish this Week for want of Paper and place in the inclosed is his letter. Your letter mention I have received by Capt. D. Elsen in which I found many satisfactory things for me I wish you come to West Point see the works. Your aprobation will give me more pleasure than of the others. General Washington propose Celebrate the Day of Surrender Burgoyne I heard so and the Congress. I should be happy if I could Celebrate with you."

The exact nature of this controversy with Captain Carter, the Second of General Wilkinson, has not been discovered. York papers of the time are not in the collection of the York Historical Society, nor in the Library of Congress.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROJECTED INVASION OF CANADA—KOSCIUSZKO ADVISES GATES TO COMMAND THE EXPEDITION—WASHINGTON PRAISES KOSCIUSZKO —"ON TO CANADA" ENTERPRISE ABANDONED—WASHINGTON FEARS THE FRENCH—BRITISH INVASION OF THE SOUTH.

ON TO CANADA.

Though the efforts in 1776-7 to conquer Canada had been dismal and unfortunate endeavors, the project was revived early in 1778. General Lafayette was to command the expedition. General Washington "never was made acquainted with a single circumstance relating to it," he wrote General Armstrong on March 31st. Lafayette was disappointed but Washington wrote him March 10th that "every one will applaud your prudence in renouncing a project in pursuing which you would have vainly attempted physical impossibilities.'

Later in the year the adherents of Gates again revived the project. His victory at Saratoga, causing the surrender of Burgoyne, made him, in the estimation of his admirers, the rival of Washington, one who would win laurels of victory in Canada as he had in Northern New York.

Kosciuszko was an affectionate admirer and friend of Gates. We have seen that early in the year talk, if not endeavors, for his promotion made him express dissent to advancement if jealousy arose in consequence of promotion. It is probable, however, that though Gates had many friends in Congress who were his supporters even against Washington and were acting in the interests of Gates, they did not move to the promotion of Gates' friends, like Kosciuszko, and to that cause it may be that Kosciuszko was not promoted to General.

However, when the Canada expedition was again under consideration with Gates as Commander of the expedition, Kosciuszko desired to serve in it. So he wrote from West Point, August 3, 1778, expressing his views relative to the project, though in so doing showing his difficulties in "expressing himself in the English language."

"You cannot imagine what pleasure it gives me your letter, your not forgeting of me shall be always present in my memory, and attach me so much that not time not any circumstance can't

ever Change my sentiments, my obligations and alter at my real Friendship.

"You most think Sir to Expedition for Canada which will be your Conquest not doubt and will add to your Honour, your Reputation and your Habilities of Surrender Burgoyne.

"Believe me, Sir, if we have not Canada the Britain will be your very Troublesome. You must not suffer not only them, but any puissance what so ever in your North part of America. Every priest Preaches for his Parishoners, and such interest will never give you Good, but divide your Opinions unanimity and deslike your own Country, add at this the Gold Lock power that I have upon mind of many Men."

WASHINGTON PRAISES KOSCIUSZKO'S ABILITIES.

Washington, going from White Plains, New York, to Fishkill to examine the condition of the Highlands, wrote, from Fort Clinton at West Point, on September 19, 1778, to General Duportail, Chief Engineer:

"Colonel Kosciuszko who was charged by Congress with the direction of the Forts and batteries has already made such progress in the constructing of them as would make any alteration of the general plan a work of too much time and the favourable testimony which you have given of Kosciuszko's abilities prevents uneasiness on that head; but whatever amendments, subordinate to the general disposition shall occur as proper to be made, you will be pleased to point out to Colonel Kosciuszko, that they may be carried into execution. The works proposed on the peninsula, not being subject to the above mentioned inconveniences, you will desire Colonel Kosciuszko to show you his plans for approbation, before he proceeds to the construction, or have them traced in the first instance conformably to your own ideas." [Sparks' *Writings of Washington,* VI, 67-8.]

Kosciuszko related on October 6, 1778, to Gates this visitation of Washington "to see the works," but expressing the opinion that the order to submit plans to Duportail was to show that he was "superior and above" him, while Duportail was one who had had little practice; that plans on paper were not equal to those according to the ground. He wrote:

"You should not forget your Good Friend I have not news from you since I left White Plains. Believe me Sir you cannot

find better friend and more attach to you this Confession I will prouve in every Circumstance what so ever Will you remember Sir that I want to be with the Army under your Command.

"His Excellency was here with General Du Portail to see the works after all Conclusions was made that I am not the worst of Ingineers. General Washington told him that he should give me direction about the works, but he givet me any what was not lay before and approuved all some time against his will. I see plainly that was the even to show me that I have superior and above me and indeed Sir I discover in Conversation that this Gentleman wanted little practise because he believe that is the same thing upon the paper as upon the Ground we must always have the works according to the Ground and Circumstance but not as the paper is level and make the works accordingly.

'*That is between us.* I look after happy deliverance from here for northern Expedition."

KOSCIUSZKO NOT TO GO TO CANADA.

From West Point, 12 September, 1778:

"You cannot Concive in what passion I am having not plaisure to be under your Commands my happiness is lost, but I hope that you will help me to recover it soon as possible.

"You must remember Sir to have me with you and if you will forget that I beg the favour of your Lady to have me in her memory.

"Because I have determined to go with you Sir if not in the other Character I must go as Volunteer for the next expedition to Canada." [*Gates' Papers.*]

But the expedition never was sent. A committee of Congress, in conjunction with Lafayette, had drawn a plan for an attack on Canada which was to be effected by the combined operations of the United States and France. Attacks were to be made at Detroit, Niagara and by way of the Connecticut River. Washington reported to Congress, when the plan was submitted him, that the scheme was impracticable, and would require resources in money and men that Congress could not command and was so extensive and complicated that even with the best of means, there could be but a slender hope of success. He had one objection, he wrote the President of Congress, which "is unsurmountable and alarms all my feelings for the true and permanent interest of my Country.

This is the introduction of a large body of French troops into Canada and putting them in possession of the capital of that province, attached to them by all the ties of blood, habits, manners, religion and former connection of government. I fear this would be too great a temptation to be resisted by any power actuated by the common maxims of national policy." He then went on to present "the striking advantages France would derive from the possession of Canada."

The project originated with Lafayette, but Washington and others suspected "it had its birth in the cabinet of France and was put in this artful dress to give it readier currency."

But Washington did not know that France was opposed to an expedition against Canada or any attempt to take it from England and had instructed its Minister to the Colonies to oppose any such project.

But it is a curious political fact that even Washington preferred England to hold Canada rather than France to have it, as it was feared she might hold the country as security for loans made to the Colonies; for, said Washington, "no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interests."

So the project was abandoned, but for reasons which now seem unjustifiable if not amusing.

While this enterprise was under consideration, Washington and Congress were concerned to know the operations in view by the British in removing, as they had information, a large contingent of the forces from New York. The rumors were that they were bound for the West Indies, or for Nova Scotia or to Europe. But it turned out in a short time that Clinton was sending an expedition to the Southern States.

General Lincoln was sent by Congress to take Command. Then came on the disastrous campaign in South Carolina and the capture of Charleston, with which we have no concern.

One of these rumors reached West Point and caused Kosciuszko to write to Gates on 29th October, 1779:

"We have the news that Ten Regiments Embark to West Indies from New York and many say that all troops Will soon left this Country I wish that should be true.

"I am very anxious to know what is reason that you is sent so far as to Halifax. I believe you will go Certainly to Canada if you go to Philadelphia Sir this Winter I should be glad know

because I want to go there my self, and I should stay there so long as to have honour Accompany you."

At the close of the campaigning season along the Hudson it had been demonstrated that Kosciuszko's "batteries" and "works" had met the "expectations of the country," as General McDougal had feared they would not. These batteries and works were manned by regiments which "formed a chain from the High lands to the East Sound," as Sir Henry Clinton reported to Lord George Germain, January 11, 1779, when he stated, "the rebel army is not so numerous as it was during the campaign; it is the policy of the enemy to keep no more troops on foot while the severity of the winter continues than is absolutely necessary."

Kosciuszko's Monument at Milwaukee

CHAPTER IX.

KOSCIUSZKO'S REPORT TO MCDOUGAL—OBSTRUCTS THE RIVER AT WEST POINT—PLANS A REDOUBT.

From Fort Arnold, West Point, on December 28, 1778, Kosciuszko wrote General McDougal:

As confusion has taken place respecting the artificers since Col. Malcom took the Command at this Port, I should be glad your Honor would regulate these matters, that each one may know what to depend on in prosecuting the Business carrying on here. I should be very glad if I might have a daily report made me that I may know how many I can have to employ on the works. I think the Q. M. of the place or Captain Furloughing the men is attended with bad consequences that they ought to be given by the Commander of the Garrison with my consent. That the Q. M. should not have Liberty to take the artificers from other works but by the proper application.

There is one company of Carpenters here whose pay is 12/ per day, consisting of nine men. Capt. Black has resigned, his Lieut. is here, if we can keep him and his Sergeants (what I believe) and put those who are drafted from the garrison under them, the same service will (be) rendered the Public with less expense.

The Masons are but of little use at this time in the severe season, the Drafts four men from the Garrison in my opinion would be sufficient to complete the necessary chemnees when the weather moderates. The chain is safe and can be very easily taken up when the cold abates. The Boom lies where it was and will be taken up. We shall want I think about 50 Bbs. of Tar for the use of the logs of the Chain, Boom and Bumpoves. [*McDougal.*]

The chains and logs referred to were devices to prevent the enemy from coming up the Hudson at West Point. They had been devised and constructed under the direction of Kosciuszko.

On December 22d General McDougal notified Major Dobbs: "I have several days ago ordered the Engineer at West Point to bring in the chains and boom. He has my written orders on the essential measures to be first taken. He will not attempt to remove the chain unless these are done. But give him all ye aid and advice you can in prosecuting those orders whatever mode he chose to execute them in." [*McDougal MSS.*]

To Kosciuszko, on December 30th, McDougal sent this order from Peekskill:

"You will give all possible attention to cause timber to be cut for compleating the works at West Point. The season is now favourable to draw it to the water—you will get as much chevaux de frize as you can with all possible despatch made till further orders. They should be fitted for the axis, all of one size and Iron chains made to be fastened them to each other. Your first attention must be to cutting the Timber for the Works. What Artificers can be spared from this will be employed on the *chevaux de frize*. Take to your assistance every officer and man of B. G. Patterson's Brigade Qualified to aid and further those services.

PLANS A REDOUBT.

On February 6, 1779, Kosciuszko reported to McDougal:

I should be happy to know your determination respecting the Chain. It is certain that not more than half the Logs will be fit for service again next Summer and we cannot get those that are good short of Coerymons; if you should think this advisable it ought to be begun immediately as the Season approaches fast. I send you indorsed a plan of the Redoubt proposed with two Profiles of here with the situation of the ground round about; the A. B. is the direction; C. D. is commanded by no Hight; the Intervals C. B., B. D., D. A., A. C. is a great Valley. As it is very difficult to procure good fascienes near that Place, I think that the Parapet can easily be done with timber up to the Frieze E. and the rest with Fascienes. If you approve of this Plan it will be time to begin cutting the Timber for the Bomb Proof immediate,

I am in great want of a Whip saw and cannot get it from Fishkill. Should beg the favor of having one from Major Campbell. If you choose to send me the map I will copy it I believe better than the original and send you both in a short time. [*McDougal MS.*]

This plan or map is not among the McDougal Manuscripts at West Point.

On February 24th from Fort Arnold he reported to McDougal:

I have no more entrenching tools but twenty spades and twenty-five pick ax; some is in the regiment but very few. About the timber that was on the ground when General Patterson took command 45 sticks good for the bumproof and small timber for the 200 foot. The Men were sent to-day for the logs of the chain.

On April 17, 1779, General McDougal gave directions to Kosciuszko concerning Fort Arnold and its defences (*McD. MSS.*, p. 13):

On January 29, 1780, Kosciuszko wrote to General Greene recommending certain workmen as the most active and honest and therefore entitled to the preference in the new army. He sent the Commander-in-Chief Washington plans of Fort Putnam with his opinions. [*Greene Cor. Am. Philo. Soc. MSS.*, I, 55.]

On July 1, 1780, Kosciuszko made report to General McDougal of what was yet to be done for the sufficient defence and the numbers needed for the batteries of Forts Putnam, Wylly redoubt and battery at Fort Arnold and to complete the ditches at Fort Constitution; that the four batteries "want at least 600 men, 160 carpenters, 30 masons and 16 teams for two months.

APPEAL FOR CLOTHING.

To General Philip Schuyler, Member of Congress, from New York, Colonel Kosciuszko wrote on 12th May, 1780, from West Point, saying:

As you are the only Person in Congress with whom I have the Honor to be acquainted, that knows the System of the whole Army and it's several departments; you will forgive me the trouble I am about to give you in favour of the Corps of Engineers. We beg that the Honorable Congress would grant us Cloathing in Apointed maner as for the Army. Why should all Departments receive and we be excluded? Justice speek for it's self without any farther request from us. If Cloathing could be purchased very easy, in this Country and without injuring the Public service, in the Time which most be necessarily employed for that purpose we should not solicit, but you know how difficult it is to get it, and what inconsistancies it would be, for us to be absent often from Camp. Your remonstrating to Congress in our behalf will I am sure bare great weight, which favour will always be greatfully acknowledged, with the greatest Sincerity from us.

CHAPTER X.

KOSCIUSZKO MORE THAN HALF A YANKEE—MAPS WEST POINT—STILL SEEKS TO GO TO CANADA—KOSCIUSZKO CALLS FOR MORE RUM.

On March 3d Kosciuszko wrote General Gates:

If my Friendship is Great my Respect for you Person is not less, this will be a perpetual Inducement to me to take every Opportunity of expressing my sentiments, without any self interest not expecting an Answer having received none in return for four sent you.

I will Continue to write and if I cannot give you any satisfaction or Pleasure, I shall gratify my own vanity in expressing my sentiments as an Old woman, who by age expects not a reciprocity of affection or interest to her.

West Point is as barren of news as the mountains that surround it—the only piece of news we have here, which I suppose you have heard, is that Col. Putnam with a Detachment from Nixon's Brigade took Eleven Prisoners and killed two of the Enemys at Horse neck, he likewise retook a great number of Cattle they were driving in. I must beg the favour of you to promote the interest of the Yankees at Court, this request is formed on principles of real justice as well as because I suppose to be my self at this time more than half a Yankee.

"Yankee" was a term applied to New Englanders. Those of the South resented the term.

KOSCIUSZKO MAPS WEST POINT.

On April 17th he wrote McDougal concerning Fort Arnold and its defense. On April 25th he wrote:

I send you a ruff map of West Point with indications you desire from me about the Public Buildings and the works.

The carpenters complain about the provisions that they have not enof; he begs your honor to allow them more bread.

a, House full of ammunition; *b*, the carpenters' house; *d*, the Commissary house; *e*, for the fourage; *f*, the huts; *g*, the Read house; *h*, Bakers' house; *i*, provision house; *k*, small commissary house; *l*, Smock house; *m*, the Barracks; *n*, the stable; *o*, of the artillery officers' house; *p*, artillery barracks; *q*, Greaton's battery;

r, chain battery from last summer; *s*, redoubt for sixety men begun last summer; *t*, redoubt for sixety men begun last summer; *u*, Guard House; *w*, Guard House not covered (projected); *x*, Point of Block House with Bumprove for sixety men; *y*, Swamps.

Endorsed: Col. Kosciuszko's Letter inclosing a map of West Point received 24 Ap., 1779.

On May 24, 1779, from West Point, Kosciuszko wrote to Mr. Wells, A. D. Q. M. G.:

As for the news we have many but so uncertain that I can hardly think proper to mention. However of more probable is that the Indians begin to be troublesom and for that purpose two regiments was ordered to go there and one Briggade is ready to march by first notice. In one Escarmush (skirmish) with them we have killed sixty, took thirty prisoners with all cattles and their town.

The Brytains seems to grow more wise, propose the peace to Amereica by influence of Spain, the articles is not yet known but we must supose such as America will chuse.

Mr. Deane is now out of date and take no more the public notice. However more men is in favour of him against his antagonist; as for Common Sense seem that he have lost his Sense.

The chain is stretched across 5th April and lay very well against completed works is what we call Putnams fort all round stone wall of thirty feet high—three Bumproves and Leistern.

My best compliments to all my friends of Yankee *speties* [species], and if Col. Hartford is one of them give him my compliments. [Copy at West Point presented by Henry Wells, 1410 G St., Washington.]

"Common Sense" referred to Thomas Paine, the author of *The Crisis.*

MORE RUM.

Again on September 9, 1779, Kosciuszko wrote Washington at West Point, seeking a greater supply of Rum and received answer:

I have ordered the Commy. General to procure a supply of Rum if possible for the Men upon Fatigue. I shall be glad to know whether there has been any special agreement, to give the Artificers draughted from the line any thing extraordinary for their Work. If there has, they must be paid in Rum (if that was the agreement) or an equivalent in Money when they do not get

Rum. They must not, at any Rate, think of returning to their Regiment, while their Services are wanting.

REPORTS TO WASHINGTON.

From July 22 to November 27, 1779, Washington was at West Point. In July Kosciuszko made the following report to the Commander-in-Chief:

I have only two Masons as yet come from the Main Army, and do not expect any more, the Officers being unwilling to part with them. I applyed to the Detachements here who had a number of them, wrote to the Officers in the most pressing terms shewing the necessity of it but got none. I am out of the lime, it is true I have a promise of having some more but when I cannot tell.

One of the Justice wrote to Mr. Whiting, .G. Q. M., that General Green had excused the Inhabitants from sending more Teams than Ten, I suppose he has in view to imploy the Teams of the Briggades, as they do nothing at Present to ease the Burthen of the Inhabitants.

I have Twenty Carpenters Sick by raison of drinking Water in this hot Weather [as they say] they suppose that one Half Gill added to their daily allowance would remedy the Evil.

Col. Stewart was so good as to let me have a Stone Cutter from his Regiment for One Week. I wish to have him for a Month having much to do and know not where to find another. [*Letters to Washington,* 1779, Vol. XXXIII, p. 422.]

Kosciuszko yet at West Point was still expecting in December, 1779, that General Gates would be sent to Canada. On 28th he wrote him:

Long ago I looked for opportunity to write to you, but I was so unhappy that I could not have and after I expected that some body of your family will acquainted me with the place where you is in Boston, Be so good Dear General to write me of your health as I am very anxious to know and of your Ladys. For my part I am pretty happy with General Paterson but not so as I should be with you; permit me Sir if you go to Canada to take me with you. [*Gates' Papers.*]

CHAPTER XI.

WASHINGTON'S ORDER AGAINST PROFANITY—KOSCIUSZKO'S THREE PLANS—GENERAL GATES ORDERED TO THE SOUTH. LAURELS AND WILLOWS—KOSCIUSZKO GOES SOUTH—GATES' DEFEAT AT CAMDEN—GREENE APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND.

It is interesting to know that while at West Point Washington was so shocked at the profanity of the soldiers that, on July 29, 1779, he issued the annexed order:

Many and pointed orders have been issued against that unnecessary and abominable custom of swearing, notwithstanding which, with much regret, the General observes that it prevails, if possible, more than ever; his feelings are continually wounded by the oaths and imprecations of the soldiers whenever he is in hearing of them.

The name of that Being from whose bountiful goodness we are permitted to exist and enjoy the comforts of life, is incessantly imprecated and profaned, in a manner as wanton as it is shocking. For the sake therefore of religion, decency and order, the General hopes and trusts that officers of every rank will use thir influence and Authority to check a vice which is so unprofitable as it is wicked and shameful.

If officers would make it an unavoidable rule to reprimand, and, if that does not do, punish soldiers for offences of this kind, it could not fail of having the desired effect. [*Boynton*, p. 84.]

To Col. Richard Kidder Meade, Assistant Adjutant-General and acting Secretary to Washington, Kosciuszko wrote on March 23, 1780, from West Point, New York, saying:

I sent on 4th three more Sketches of Plans. I do not know if they are come to hand, I delivered them to General Howe who promissed to forward them. I wrote also to his Excellency respecting teams which I Cannot get by the great scarcity of Forrage and you know I can do nothing without them.

I beg you would inform him I have but Eighty fatigue men for all the works at West Point and I expect less and less every day; this will be the Cause, that the works will not be Compleated and not to be imputed to my neglect. I wrote to Governor Clinton two days agoe, that he would send some teams with the Fourage of the opulent and rich inhabitants, I have not yet received an

answer. I desired General Howe to write him upon the same subject and he did. I have three Masons from the Virginia Line. They the best Masons of few number that I have I should beg to keep them, but as they are in Great want of shoes, I will thank you to procure an order for three pairs of shoes on the Commissary of Cloathing at Newburgh.

To which Col. Meade replied on March 30th:

The Sketches which you mention, as having sent His Excellency thro' General Howe, are not yet come to hand. It is to be lamented that your present number of Fatigue men are not adequate, either to the occasion there is for them, or your wishes. The General has, however, written some days ago on the subject to General Howe, and no doubt everything will be done towards forwarding the Works, that is within his power. You will be pleased to make application, to the General for the Order you requested for Shoes for the Masons of the Virginia Line; and also, in all future similar cases, as he is authorized on that head.

LAURELS AND WILLOWS.

After the success of General Gates in the North, resulting in the surrender of Burgoyne, he was, by his admirers, thought the foremost commander of the American army. It is not within our scope of narration to tell of the intrigues which were working to undermine Washington and place the chief command with Gates. But General Lincoln's unsuccessful campaign in the South, resulting in the surrender to the British of Charleston, South Carolina, May 12, 1780, as well as the unsuccessful attack on Savannah where Kosciuszko's compatriot, Pulaski, lost his life, October 11, 1779, caused Gates to be considered the one to restore Success to the Southern army. But, as he feared, he "exchanged the laurels of the North for the willows of the South."

He wrote:

"I am destined by the Congress to command in the South. In entering on this new and (as Lee says) most difficult theatre of the war, my first thoughts have been turned to the selection of an Engineer, and Adjt. General and a Qur. Master General. Kosciuszko, Hay and yourself if I can b[ ]g [ ] you all, are to fill these offices and will fill them well [ ] qualities of the Pole, which no one knows better [than] yourself are now acknowledged at Head Quarters and may enduce others

to prevent his joining us—but his promise once given, we are sure of him."

Kosciuszko had protected West Point and its approaches on the Hudson River from the attacks of Sir Henry Clinton at New York. The invitation of Gates to become his Engineer was accepted.

WASHINGTON PERMITS KOSCIUSZKO TO GO SOUTH.

Accordingly on July 30, 1780, Kosciuszko made known his desire to General Washington, who, on August 3d, from Peekskill, replied:

The Artificers are drawn from the Post at West Point for a particular and temporary service only; and as there is a necessity for a Gentleman in the Engineering department to remain constantly at that Post, and as you from your long residence there, are particularly well acquainted with the nature of the Works and the Plans for their completion, it was my intent that you should continue. The Infantry Corps was arranged before the receipt of your letter. The Southern Army, by the captivity of General du Portail and the other Gentlemen of that Branch, is without an Engineer; and as you seem to express a wish of going there, rather than remaining at West Point, I shall, if you prefer it to your present appointment, have no objection to your going.

To this Kosciuszko replied from West Point the next day:

The Choise your Excellency was pleased to give me in the letter of yeasterday is very kind and as the Complition of the works at this place this Campaign as Circumstance are, will be impossible in my opinion. I prefer going to the Southward to Continuing here. I beg you to favor me with your orders, and Letter of recommendation to the Board of War, as I shall pass throu Philadelphia. Shall wait on your Excellency to pay due respects within a few days, but lest the mouvements of the Army should prevent, beg my request may be granted and sent me at this place.

On the 7th he wrote Washington to "grant me a request to Carry my boy with me, who since three years wait on me. I have no other at present, and I Cannot get one to go with me so far off. Colo. Sprout is willing if your Excellency will give order for it."

To which Washington replied, "It is perfectly agreeable to me that you should carry your servant with You, and so you will inform Colo. Sprout."

GATES DEFEATED AT CAMDEN.

Though Kosciuszko lost no time in going Southward yet, stopping in Philadelphia debarred him from arriving at Gates' army in time to give his assistance to his old friend and General. Gates was, on August 16, 1780, defeated at the Battle of Camden, North Carolina.

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee, of Virginia, Commander of the Partisan Legion in his *Memoirs* declared that such had been General Gates' hurry from the moment he had been called to the command in the South as to forbid that full inquiry into his enemy's and his own situation.

As Lincoln had failed at Savannah and thus lost Georgia, so the defeat of Gates at Camden, and of Sumter at Fishing Creek, two days later, North and South Carolina were at the mercy of the British. These two disasters almost annihilated the American forces. But Kosciuszko was not there.

CHAPTER XI.

GREENE APPOINTED TO SUCCEED GATES—KOSCIUSZKO'S SERVICES IN THE CAMPAIGN—NOT ANXIOUS FOR PROMOTION—PREDICTS CLOSE OF THE WAR IN TWO YEARS.

General Gates was summoned by Congress to appear before a Board of Inquiry to examine into his conduct. Congress authorized Washington to appoint a commander in lieu of Gates. He appointed General Nathaniel Greene whom he considered "a man of abilities, bravery and coolness, a man of fortitude and resources and having a comprehensive knowledge of our affairs."

DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS.

The condition of political and military affairs at this time were set forth by General Washington in a letter to George Mason, Esq., dated October 22, 1780. He said:

"It is scarcely within the power of description to give an idea of them. Unless there is a material change both in our civil and military policy it will be in vain to contend much longer.

"We are without money and have been so for a long time; without provisions or forage except what is taken by impress; without clothing and shortly shall be (in a manner) without men. In a word we have lived upon expedients till we can live no longer; and it may truly be said, that the history of this war is a history of false hopes and temporary devices—instead of system—and economy, which results from it." [Lee's *Memoirs of War in South*, p. 211—*note*.]

Such was the condition of the American Army and the situation of public affairs when England, beaten in the North, undertook to subdue the South and for a while succeeded. Charleston, after a month's defense by Lincoln, surrendered after Savannah had been captured and the brave compatriot of Kosciuszko, Count Pulaski, was mortally wounded. Gates, victorious at Saratoga, had been sent Southward but was defeated at Camden. Then Greene was sent to take Gates' place—and command of an army lacking sufficient men, arms, clothing and provisions. But it is not within the scope of our limitations to narrate the course of events further than to present Kosciuszko's connection therewith as available records may reveal.

BRITISH DEFEATED AT COWPENS AND GUILFORD.

General Greene, appointed October 31, 1780, proceeded Southward, stopping at Richmond, Virginia, to arrange measures of support and coöperation. Gates was at Charlotte, North Carolina, awaiting Greene's arrival to turn over the command. It was not until December 2d this was done.

On January 17, 1781, Morgan defeated the British Tarleton at Cowpens and captured most of his force. On the last day of January Greene united his forces with those of Morgan. On March 15, 1781, they defeated the British at Guilford Court House. He was making good his declaration to Washington to "recover the country or die in the attempt." This victory rescued Georgia, North and South Carolina from British rule. In all these movements Kosciuszko was active, rendering to Greene's army such services as were requisite.

The distressed condition of Greene's army is shown by Kosciuszko's letter to Dr. Brown relating that in the distribution of linen he "got only four shirts," but had "this moment received the good news that some linen is to be got at Camden," and that he would if it was "true make application to the General."

CONCERNING PROMOTION.

After the victory at Guilford Court House, Greene turned Southward again to aid South Carolina. On April 20, 1781, at Hobkirk's Hill he attacked Lord Raw'don but was obliged to retire. On April 8th Kosciuszko had written General Gates:

The promotion General Duportail I don't think would be the Consequence of mine as the Congress lately resolved to make no more Brigadier-Generals, for my part neither confidence I have enough to think I deserve it nor resolution to ask, am extremely obliged to you for your kind offers and think them of great weight if importance should you use your influence, but as to the others recomendation in my favor am entirely against, what I beg of you will always deny to the others. The London Papers of December Leads me to think the British policy will be to make the greatest afford in West India this Summer to secure their Islands, and as they cannot reinforce the troops in America they must quit Charlestown to support New York in case of the siege or keep both towns in a passive manner, being not able to form any opperation.

The War will not last two years more I assure you, already the great debate was in Parliament wether they ought to carry the War in America or not, they lost even the shadow. No imaginary vision of a distant perspective ever Conquered this Country, Our Army Encamp at Beckenbridge upon Aster river two and twenty miles from Charleston, the Enemy dare not move from the lines made at Quarter house. I do not expect to go very soon to Philadelphia but if as I should you may be sure that I will do me the honour to call on you, and would not Choose by no means to be deprived of the satisfaction see you both in good health at Travellers rest.

My best respect to Mrs. Gates and I beg her to believe that no time or place will ever make me forgive her good heart and my sentiments of Gratitude.

CHAPTER XIII.

KOSCIUSZKO AT FORT NINETY-SIX—HE IS BLAMED FOR ITS LOSS—BRITISH FORCED TO EVACUATE.

When General Greene in his operations in South Carolina moved against Fort Ninety-Six he, with one thousand men, arrived there May 22, 1781. The place derives its name from being ninety-six miles from the principal town of the Cherokee Indians, called Keeowee. The fort was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, a New York Loyalist. His garrison consisted of five hundred loyalists. The fort was strongly defended by a mound of earth, parapet high, thrown around the stockade and secured by abatis as well as block houses.

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee in his *Memoirs* of the War relates that Kosciuszko was with the force under Greene attacking this fort. He narrates:

"Colonel Kosciuszko, a Polish officer, at the head of the engineers in the Southern army, was considered skilful in his profession, and much esteemed for his mildness of disposition and urbanity of manners. To this officer General Greene committed the designation of the course and mode of approach. Never regarding the importance which was attached to depriving the enemy of water, for which he depended on the rivulet to his left, Kosciuszko applied his undivided attention to the demolition of the star—the principal work formed as a star—the strongest point of the enemy's defence. Breaking ground close to this fortress, he labored during the first night with diligence, but had not been able to place in great forwardness his incipient works. No sooner was this attempt of the besieger perceived, than Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger determined to prepare a platform in one of salient angles of the star, opposite our works, for the erection of three pieces of artillery, all he had, with intention to cover a detachment charged with the expulsion of our working parties, to be followed by a second for the demolition of the works. Before noon the platform was finished and the artillery mounted on it."

Infantry were placed in the parapet and under the protection and that of artillery on the platform a sallying party of the British under Lieutenant Roney attacked the Americans, "drove our guard and working parties, putting to the bayonet all found, demolished

the works and carried off the entrenching tools," but Lieutenant Roney was killed.

So judiciously was this sally planned and so rapidly conducted, that, although Greene instantly sent a detachment to support Kosciuszko, the object of the British was accomplished before the support could arrive. Taught by this essay that his enemy was of a cast not to be rashly approached, Kosciuszko was directed to resume his labors under cover of a ravine, and at a more respectful distance. He broke ground again on the night of the 23d, still directing his approaches against the star redoubt.

In the meantime General Pickens and Colonel Lee had been operating against the British at Augusta, Georgia, and, on June 5th, had compelled the surrender of the town by Lieutenant-Colonel Browne commanding the King's troops. The next day Colonel Lee with his cavalry proceeded with expedition to Ninety-Six by orders from General Greene, who, with unremitting industry, was exerting himself to complete the works against the British star redoubt to which Kosciuszko had directed all his efforts. The enemy's left had been entirely neglected although in that quarter was procured the chief supply of water.

Without entering into military details and manœuvres, suffice it to say that after the loss of Augusta, Lord Rawdon, organizer of the Volunteers of Ireland, composed of deserters from the Americans, on June 7th set out from Charleston to the relief of Ninety-Six with a portion of three regiments just arrived from Ireland and joined by other troops all numbering two thousand.

General Greene, learning of Rawdon's coming, directed General Sumter to delay his advance by every means in his power, while he endeavored to force the surrender of Ninety-Six or to capture it by assault.

Lee writes: "Our approaches to the fort continued to be made with unabated diligence in the hope that they might be brought to maturity in time to force the submission of the garrison before the British General could make good his long march.

"We now began to deplore the early inattention of the chief engineer to the enemy's left; persuaded had he been deprived of the use of the rivulet in the beginning of the siege he must have been forced to surrender."

Endeavors to force submission or to capture were made but

without avail. Rawdon by forced marches succeeded in baffling all efforts to delay his approach to the fort.

On June 18th Greene attempted to storm the fort but was obliged to retire with a loss of one hundred and eighty-five killed and wounded. The next day he retreated and on the 21st Rawdon arrived at the fort. Lee records (371): "Kosciuszko was extremely amiable, and, I believe a truly good man, nor was he deficient in his professional knowledge; but he was very moderate in talent—not a spark of the ethereal in his composition. His blunders lost us Ninety-Six; and General Greene, much as he was beloved and respected, did not escape criticism, for permitting his engineer to direct the manner of approach. It was said, and with some justice too, that the General ought certainly to have listened to his opinion, but never ought to have permitted the pursuit of error, although supported by professional authority."

Concerning the siege of Ninety-Six, Kosciuszko wrote to Gates on July 29, 1781, from the High Hills of Santee:

"As to our blockade of 'Ninety-Six' we were unlucky. The Ground was so hard that our approaches could not go but very slow, had Lord Rawdon gave us four days more we should blow up their works and take six hundred men in it."

After the failure at Ninety-Six, Greene's combinations obliged the British to soon evacuate that fortification. Greene moved his army to the High Hills of Santee:

> "Near silver Santee on whose winding shores
> Weary and faint they spread their ample stores,
> Columbia's sons pursue the warlike foe,
> Despite soft ease and meaner joys forgo."

LEE AT MONK'S CORNER.

From there Kosciuszko wrote to General Gates:

By our Maneuvers we have obliged the Enemy to Evacuate Ninety-Six, part of our Troops with the Militia attacked Monks Corner 22 miles from Charlestown, killed about one hundred and took one Hundred and fifty Prisoners, some of the same party came six miles near Charlestown and caught twenty Prisoners, in all this Col. Lee's Legion bear the greatest share. We took at present this position very healthy and expect to be reinforced by North Carolina and Pennsylvania Brigades who are in their march. If the circum-

stances would not change their course of affairs we will be able very soon to confine the Enemy to Charlestown.

I beg you would inform of the Northern Operations, had General Washington Blockaded New York, did they expect the Second Division of the French troops with hard money in it, etc. We want Governor Rutledge here very much if you have opportunity to see him do intreat him to come; his real attachment to the Cause, the habilities of the Civilian, and his Conduct in every respect gained him the General applause of the Inhabitants and raise the warmest desire to see him, besides that the business of the Government and thousand other matters want to be settled, and regulate.

"CANNOT LIVE WITHOUT COFFEE."

To Doctor Reed, Physician-General of the Army, Kosciuszko wrote:

I Expected Supply of Coffee from Charlestown but Could not get, and this news was brod. Yesterday to my great mortification now you must return me as a sick because I cannot live without Coffee and I propose to trouble you with it and to begin I beg you to Send me Six pound of Coffee, with Sugar in proportion, that suprise you I see but when I have the pleasure of Seeing you at my Quarters I Convince you of the necessity that I Should be well. God bless you and your family. [Myer's *Collec. Lenox Lib.*]

CHAPTER XIV.

KOSCIUSZKO'S IMPORTANT SERVICES—RECAPTURES HORSES WHICH THE BRITISH HAD TAKEN—CONTROVERSY CONCERNING OWNERSHIP, THE STATE OR THE UNITED STATES?—PEACE DECLARED—WASHINGTON RECOMMENDS PROMOTION OF KOSCIUSZKO FOR HIS "MERITS AND SERVICES"—PROMOTED FOR "LONG, FAITHFUL AND MERITORIOUS SERVICES."

The *Memorial* of Kosciuszko in the Papers of Thomas Jefferson states, "he rendered important services to General Greene which were such as brought from that officer the most lively, ardent repeated acknowledgments."

As Engineer, of course, his services are not of public record as would be those of a commanding general, as General Du Portail was Chief of the Engineers, but Congress in conferring on him, at the close of the war, the brevet of Brigadier-General gave testimony to his worth by declaring, "their high sense of his faithful and meritorious conduct."

Governor John Mathews of South Carolina, member of the Continental Congress, and one of the most influential promoters of the Revolution in that State, in writing to Major Burnet, September 6, 1782, stated he would "give immediate orders for the St. Andrew's Company of Militia to be embodied and wait on Col. Kosciuszko for his orders."

On the 18th Kosciuszko wrote: "Just now I have received intelligence by Mr. W—— from the other side of the river that four hundred British besides Hessien gone up Cooper River, he don't know upon what kind of expedition they are gon yesterday about the midle of the day—Prince had delivered your Letter in Charles Town to the gentleman who told him he will send the answer in few days."

General Greene, on October 22, 1782, communicated to Governor Mathews the proceedings of a Council of War relative to the return of horses taken from the British which they had captured from citizens of South Carolina. It read:

I do myself the honor to inclose your Excellency the proceedings of the Council of War, upon your application for the horses taken by Colonel Kosciuszko, in consequence of the opinion of the privy council on the subject of post liminium; by which, you

will see they are all agreed in the same sentiment, tho' not with the privy council, in opinion, except Colonel Pinckney, whose sentiments with his reasons, also accompany their advice and decision. I am fully sensible that the present question is one of those that ought to be treated with the greatest delicacy, and that the sufferings and losses of the people of this State have claim to a generous attention, in restoring to them such of their property, as may have fallen into the enemy's hands, and been recovered; and had the demand been less general, I should have had no difficulty in knowing how to act: but I cannot think myself at liberty, where I am bound by a positive Law, to forego the claims of the United States, either from general reasonings, or motives of equity and generosity. These may have weight with those who have power to relinquish the rights of the United States, but would not justify me. I would propose to your Excellency therefore to refer the matter to Congress for their determination, as it is a question between this State and the United States.

General Nathanael Greene died at Savannah June 19, 1786. Here may be introduced Kosciuszko's tribute to his character, written to "Mister Molineri for Mr. Botta, author of the History of the Independence of the United States of America." It was written by Kosciuszko on St. Patrick's Day, 1809, at Nemours, France. The original is in the Lenox Library, New York, with the following translation:

I am delighted that the occasion is presented to render homage to the memory of one of the best generals of America upon whom you demand some information from me. I hasten to transmit it to you. In regard to his moral character, he had all the qualities requisite to a man of state, to a general, to a Republican, and to a man of society. He was sweet, compassionate, generous, a good citizen, a good friend. He had a profound penetration, a just judgment, firmness, energy, activity. His mind was ingenious in difficulties, his glance precise. Nevertheless, simple in his manners, affable and polite. In receiving the Command of the Department of the South, after General Gates, where the affairs were in the worst state and discouragement at its height, he has brought everything up again by his spirit and courage, and his ability. In the space of three years he has expelled the English from all the provinces; fifteen combats have taken place, among which the hardest and most murderous were that of Guilford Court House

with Lord Cornwallis and that of Youtahat (Eutaw) Springs with Lord Gordon [Lord Rawdon] where they fell twice upon the evening with bayonets.

But Peace was winging her way over the combat. England was reluctantly considering the terms she might accept when her offers were rejected. James Duane, member of Congress from New York, writing to Governor Clinton on his election to the Senate and Hamilton's appointment to Congress, wrote, from Philadelphia, 20th of August, 1782: "While Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby write of propositions for Peace officiously publishing this letter before it reached Congress one of their ministers insults in Parliament with the offer of an Irish Independence." [*Papers, Clinton,* XIII, p. 35.]

On November 2, 1782, at Paris, was signed the Provisional Articles of Peace and on January 20, 1783, at Versailles, was signed the Preliminary Articles for Restoring Peace. The Ratification of the Preliminary Articles was signed February 3, 1783, by the Ministers of the United States, France and Great Britain. A cessation of hostilities was agreed upon. Congress, on April 11, 1783, issued a Proclamation "declaring a cessation of arms as well by sea as by land." The War of the Revolution was over and the Colonies were recognized by Great Britain as free and independent States. The land bounded with joy. The "Ladies of Northampton County," Pennsylvania, were so jubilant that at festivities on May 24th they drank to the toast, "May the Protestant religion prevail through all Nations."

> "They wished Religion might prevail,
> To make it sure drank a full pail,"

said the *Independent Gazette* of May 31st.

The Citizens of Philadelphia, on July 28th, addressed Congress congratulating that body on the Declaration of Peace. Congress expressed satisfaction at the "spirited and patriotic exertions made by the government and citizens of Philadelphia in the course of the late glorious war."

Gen. Carlton wrote to Congress that he had received orders to evacuate New York 15th October. [*Dreer Collect. Pa. His. Soc.*]

Kosciuszko had come to Philadelphia, the abiding place of Congress and so the governmental seat of the new nation. He ranked as a Colonel but now sought promotion, not in the general

advancement but by a special enactment of Congress, declaring an acknowledgment of his services. He wrote on August 25th to Colonel Thomas A. Williams:

The mortal faculties of human nature have greater share in contributing toward real happiness, because inward progress from first conception of an idea to the last stage of enjoyment pass through different steps like that of emotion, sensation, feeling etc., which every one give new kind of pleasure and redouble in us the effect.

Gen. Washington is arrived to Princeton yesterday where I am sure will stay many weeks to settle different claims of officers as well as other accounts.

Relating to his request for promotion he wrote Washington on September 26, 1783:

General Lincoln was pleased to recommend me to Congress and requested them to promote me to the Ranck of Brygadier General, which by the date of the Commission I hold he thought I was intitled to long ago.

Your Excellency will forgive me the Liberty I take in troubling you in this affair—Unacquiented as Congress may be of my Services—by the different promotions already granted to many, Made me fearfull of puting me at last in the oblivion List of a General promotion.

One word from your Excellency to Congress in my favor (if I can flater my self to obtain it) will Clear the doubt and rise my hope to certainty.

To which Washington replied on October 2d from Rocky Hill:

Rocky Hill, 3d Octob., 1783.

Agreeable to your request I have written to the President of Congress a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy. I heartily wish your application to meet with success. [B., XVI, p. 302.]

The letter to the President of Congress read:

I do myself the honor to transmit your Excellency copy of a Letter I have received from Colonel Kosciuszko—on the subject of his promotion.

The General promotion now before Congress, should it take place, would have included him—but this does not seem to be his wish—as a Foreigner—I suppose a particular promotion would be more consonant to his views and interest—and from my knowledge

of his merit and services and the concurrt. testimony of all who know him I cannot but recommend him as deserving the favor of Congress. Rock Hill, 2 Oct., '83.

In Congress, October 13, 1783.—On the report of a Committee, consisting of Mr. Read, Mr. Peters and Mr. Duane, to whom was referred a letter of October 2d from the Commander-in-Chief, and a letter of August 8th from the Secretary of War, together with a letter from Col. Kosciuszko,

Resolved, That the Secretary of War transmit to Col. Kosciuszko the brevet commission of Brigadier General and signify to that officer that Congress entertain an high sense of his long, faithful and meritorious services.

CHAPTER XV.

KOSCIUSZKO RETURNS TO EUROPE—FOR FAITH AND COUNTRY. "COME."

On the point of leaving America, after having sacrificed seven years of his youth to the war for its Independence, Kosciuszko wrote to a friend (probably General John Armstrong), "If the state of my Country remains always the same I will say to my countrymen, 'Come, pass over the seas, and insure your children liberty and property.' If my countrymen do not listen to me I will say to my family, 'Come.' If my family refuse, I will go by myself and die free with you." That promise he kept. [*Century Mag.*, Feb., 1902, p. 512.]

FOR FAITH AND COUNTRY.

Early in 1784 Kosciuszko returned to Europe. At Paris and other centres of political activity he prepared for another endeavor for the freedom of his native land.

It is not within the lines of our recital to narrate the events transpiring in connection with his efforts. Suffice it to record that in 1794 the Revolution in Poland again awakened Europe.

"He gathered 5,000 peasants with whom he took an oath to fight 'For Faith and Country" before Father Marcus in the market-place in Cracow, Poland, on the 24th of March, 1794. He also took an oath for 'Faith and Country' in the ancient and famous Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cracow. The peasants having scythes for their arms were called Scythers." [Rev. B. Powlowski, Uniontown, Pa.]

But at the bloody battle of Maciejowice, on October 10, 1794, his "raw and insufficiently armed troops, despite the most heroic resistance, were defeated by Suwarrow's vastly superior force."

It is very generally stated in accounts of the General when overpowered by the enemy that "Covered with wounds and exhausted with loss of blood sank from his horse, exclaiming despairingly, '*Finis Poloniae.*'" This Kosciuszko indignantly denied and declared the expression was a fabrication placed in his mouth by Russian enemies.

He was taken prisoner and by order of the Empress Catharine, sent to the fortified Castle of Gregory Orloff, where he was to be confined for life as a State prisoner. When the Emperor Paul

ascended the throne, filled with chivalrous respect for the noble enemy of his country, he, accompanied by his two eldest sons, went to the prison and released Kosciuszko.

Governeur Morris, Minister to France, records, December 19, 1796, as news from St. Petersburg that "the Emperor took his son to the apartment where Kosciuszko lay ill. He told the prisoner that he saw in him a man of honor, who had done his duty and from whom he asked no other security than his word, that he would never act against him. Kosciuszko attempted to rise; but the Emperor forbade him, sat half an hour and conversed with him, and told his son to esteem the unhappy prisoner, who was immediately released, the guard being taken away. At the same time expresses were sent into Siberia and 12,000 Poles, confined there, received passports and money to bring them home. That single trait does more, in my opinion towards securing the Russian part of Poland, than an army of 20,000 men." [Sparks' *Life of Morris,* I, p. 448.]

The Emperor offered twelve thousand rubles in gold which Kosciuszko refused to accept, as did his Adjutant, the Poet Niemcewicz. "They accepted their liberty and their swords but persistently refused the money. When Kosciuszko visited England the bankers of the Emperor of Russia notified him that the money was in their hands. He still refused to accept it and it remained to his credit."

The Emperor Alexander being in Paris requested Kosciuszko to "be reconciled with the spirit of my deceased father by accepting the little present which he bestowed upon you but which you have steadfastly refused to accept." Kosciuszko consented to accept the gift, which, after twenty years or more, had doubled in amount. The Emperor then asked what favor in return he could grant? Kosciuszko answered: "I recommend to your notice the noble and worthy family of Zeltner who received me, a poor exile, into their home and took care of me with the most tender friendship." The Emperor ordered that an estate in any district of Poland selected by Zeltner with a revenue of ten thousand francs should be given. But this was frustrated by the hostility of a Polish governor. This is related by Colonel Xavier Zeltner in the *U. S. Service Mag.*, August, 1865, but it seems a perversion of facts, as Kosciuszko remained with the Zeltner family until his death in 1817. Family tradition is an uncertain foundation for historical accuracy.

Here my task might cease, having detailed the career of Kosciuszko in the American Revolution and thus related from original sources of information the aid this noble Catholic and son of Poland gave to the winning of American Independence. But as he returned to the United States in 1797 and so was witness of some of the evidences of the work in which he had taken part, a continuance of the narration of his career, and the attending incidents will not be without interest to my readers and so lessen the abruptness of closing our account with his return to Europe after the Revolution had secured the Liberty of our Country.

The briefest recital of his second visit to the United States shows he still had a devotion to her welfare as manifested in his will drawn when about to depart forever from our shores.

CHAPTER XVI.

KOSCIUSZKO RETURNS TO THE UNITED STATES—ARRIVAL AT PHILADELPHIA.

Though not recovered from his wounds, Kosciuszko prepared to return to the United States, to visit old friends and old scenes as also to collect Revolutionary pay due him when he left our Country.

On his way here he stopped at London and at Bristol, England. The *Gentleman's Magazine,* May 30, 1797, describes his condition: "He is incurably wounded on the head, has three bayonet wounds on the back and a part of his thigh carried away by a cannon shot; his wounds are such that he cannot move himself without excruciating torture."

At Bristol he was escorted by a regiment of dragoons and was met by Rufus King, the United States Minister, and Colonel Trumbul, the soldier-painter. Dr. Warner in his *Literary Recollections* stated, "his wounds were still unhealed; he was unable to sit upright; a black silk handkerchief crossed his face and high forehead." In that condition he was carried on board the "Adriana" bound for Philadelphia, sailing June 9, 1797, commanded by Captain Lee.

His companions on the voyage were his Adjutant, the poet Julien Ursin Niemciewicz and Libiszewski, a young officer and good musician. The former remained with the General; the latter parted with him in Philadelphia. [*Century,* Feb., '02, p. 512.]

Niemciewicz who had been Kosciuszko's aid-de-camp in the Polish war of 1794, thus relates the incidents of the voyage to America after passing through Sweden and England on the way to America:

"He embarked for America; and during this voyage the ocean had nearly become the grave of our hero. A vessel, belonging to a fleet of merchantmen returning from Jamaica, was separated from her company in a dark night, and whilst sailing with the greatest rapidity, struck the American ship. Masts, rigging and sails were instantly entangled. Two large vessels lay beating forcibly against each other. Great was the tumult—noise and disorder upon deck—death stared us in the face. Kosciuszko viewed the scene, this dismaying and terrifying moment, with his

usual serenity and composure; but his last hour had not yet arrived. Providence ordained that he should survive to see that day on which the generous Alexander proclaimed the restoration of Poland. We escaped this imminent danger with the loss of the main mast and torn sails, but the voyage was, in consequence of this disaster, protracted to seventy days. At length we espied the happy shores of the land of freedom. Pennsylvania, the country of Penn and Franklin, received Kosciuszko into her bosom. After suffering such accumulated miseries, this was the first happy and joyful moment. [Niles' *Principles Rev.*, p. 514, ed. 1876.]

ARRIVED AT PHILADELPHIA.

Kosciuszko arrived at Philadelphia 18 August, 1797. The next day the notorious William Cobbett's *Porcupine Gazette* said:

"The Polish General Kosciuszko was yesterday dragged from the waterside to his lodgings by men. How far this redounds to his honour, will be guessed, when it is known that Lloyd, who stood *in the pillory in London* and who *inhabited Newgate* for years, was the leader of the team."

The "Lloyd who stood in the pillory in London" was Thomas Lloyd, an English Catholic, a Captain in the Revolution, the first shorthand reporter of the first House of Representatives of the United States under the present Constitution. Lloyd had gone to England, was imprisoned for debt and while in Fleet Street jail was charged with sedition and sentenced to the pillory and to imprisonment. An account of him may be read in THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RESEARCHES for January, 1890, and January, April, July, 1903. He is buried in St. Augustine's graveyard, Philadelphia.

Niemciewicz relates:

"The members of Congress, then in session—his old compatriots in arms—his friends and acquaintances—and citizens generally, hailed his arrival with unaffected pleasure. The people surrounded him who had been one of their favorite chiefs, who had suffered so much in their cause, accompanied him to his lodgings. Not only in America but in every European city through which he passed after his liberation, in Stockholm, in London, and in Bristol all those who cherished in their hearts a love of Liberty, and a regard for her defenders, thronged about him and gave him the most lively demonstration of their esteem. Oh, it was grateful

to the heart of a Polander to perceive in the honor and respect with which his chief was received, esteem and commiseration for the fate of an unjustly destroyed nation."

Claypoole's *Advertiser,* August 19, 1797, reported:

"In the ship Adriana, Captain Lee, arrived here last evening, from Bristol, came passenger that illustrious Defender of the Rights of Mankind, the brave, but unfortunate Kosciuszko, the Polish General, accompanied by two Polish Gentlemen. On the arrival of the vessel at the Fort, the Commander of the Garrison being informed that the veteran General was on board, welcomed him by a Federal Salute; and when the vessel came to anchor in our harbor, the Sailing Master of the Frigate had its Barge manned with eight Masters of Vessels, and waited upon the General to take him on shore. On his landing, he was received with three cheers. And, as a further mark of popular respect for this great character, the citizens insisted upon drawing him to his lodgings. The General appears to be in good spirits, but has suffered very materially from his wounds and inhuman imprisonment. We trust, however, he will long live to enjoy in these peaceful shores, that Liberty and Happiness, which he assisted in fighting for, but which he fought in vain to obtain for his native land. We understand the General is personally known to most of the characters in our Revolution."

CHAPTER XVII.

SENDS PACKAGE TO WASHINGTON WHO GREETS HIS ARRIVAL IN THE COUNTRY WHOSE LIBERTIES HE HELPED TO ESTABLISH—VISITS GENERAL GATES—HIS LAND WARRANT—COLUMBUS, OHIO, PART OF HIS ALLOTMENT.

On August 23d Kosciuszko wrote to General Washington at Mount Vernon, saying:

By sending a packet delivered to me by Lord St. Clair's for you, I have the honor to pay my respects not only to my Chief commander, but to a great man whose eminent virtues to his country rendered him dear to every feeling breast.

WASHINGTON'S APPRECIATION.

On August 31, 1797, Washington from Mount Vernon replied to Kosciuszko congratulating him on his safe arrival in America and welcoming him to the land "whose liberties you had been instrumental in establishing," and assuring him "that no one" has a higher respect and veneration for your character than I have and no one more sincerely wished, during your arduous struggle in the cause of Liberty and your country, that it might be crowned with success. But the ways of Providence are inscrutable and mortals must submit. I pray you to believe that at all times, and under all circumstances, it would make me happy to see you at my last retreat, from which I never expect to be more than twenty miles again. [Sparks' *Writings*, XI, 214.]

But Kosciuszko was never able, on account of his wounds, to journey so far as Mount Vernon to "pay his respects to his Chief Commander" at his "retreat" or home at Mount Vernon.

The yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia when the General arrived. So Kosciuszko with his poet-friend, Niemciewicz, went on to New York to visit his old Commander, General Gates, for whom as we have seen Kosciuszko had a deep affection and a deep consideration for his wife. When at New Brunswick, New Jersey, on September 1, 1797, he wrote from the home of General Anthony Walton White, an army comrade, saying:

I am at Mr. White's house now away from Philadelphia. I propose to go see you and before hand I feel great satisfaction in Embracing you once more, that I never expected that happiness.

VISITS GENERAL GATES.

Later he wrote:

If you know well my Heart, you ought to expect that I would pay invoidably my respects to you at your House, and for that purpose I came out from Philadelphia this way. I propose to set out in three days, from General White's to go at your's and to stay there one week; unless you will set your dogs at me, and by force throw me out from your House. I recollect perfectly well the obligation I owe to you; and respect Esteem, Veneration and afection, too strongly imprinted in my breast, not to Listened to the call of sentyments and to pay the common gratitude with all bytisens of this Country for your great exertions during the War. I have only one Friend and one servant wyth me—and with suche army I will attack your house, but will surender imidiatly to your good, hospitable and Friendly Heart my best respects to your Lady. Hear I stop for fear you should not be Jealous of me.

Proceeding to New York he was the guest of General Gates at his seat, Rose Hill, now part of New York City. On 25th September Gates wrote a friend, saying:

"General Kosciuszko is, with his Polish Friend, under my roof and is hourly visited by all the best company, which finds me constant and unremitted employment."

At this time the baggage of Kosciuszko was detained for charges at the Philadelphia Custom House. On September 20th from Rose Hill he wrote there in reference to the detention. Kosciuszko remained at General Gates' until September 29th.

COBBET'S COMMENTS.

Porcupine's [Cobbet's] *Gazette* had the following after Kosciuszko went to New York:

"From Claypoole's paper of this morning: 'General Kosciuszko, we learn, has left the City, on a visit to General White of New Brunswick. Before he left town, we understand, a gentleman in office presented him with a land warrant, to which he was entitled by his services, and intimated there was a sum of money due him for his services in the cause of this country. We understand that the General signified that, whilst fortune smiled upon him at home, he had no intention of receiving any pecuniary reward from the United States, but that, in his present circumstances, he should not decline the acceptance of what appeared to be his due. We believe

that, with principal and interest, his pay will not amount to less than 18 or 20,000 dollars, as the General entered into the service as a Colonel of Engineers on October, 1776, and remained until the end of the war. The land warrant, we are told, the General presented a Welsh farmer of the name of Thomas, who was a passenger in the same ship and of whom he had conceived a high opinion."

Upon this item Cobbett thus commented:

"Remark. I would lay fifty pounds that this high opinion man is a Jacobin. As to the General, whatever might be his views in crossing the Atlantic, it is certain that it has turned out no unprofitable voyage; no bad spec, in liberty and equality. I do not like these *after-claps.* If a man fights for the sheer love of Liberty, let him have the honour of it; but let him not enjoy this honour with the wages of a *mercenary* in his pocket. What does this man want with 20,000 dollars? These fellows are all *Concinnatures,* if you believe their canting professions; but when you come to the trial, you soon find that a coach and pair suits them better than a *plough.* The *tract of land,* you see, which would have furnished our liberty hero with a charming opportunity of becoming a *Concinnatus,* he gave away as unworthy of his attention." [*Works,* VII, 114.]

KOSCIUSZKO'S LAND.

It is wholly untrue that Kosciuszko gave away his land warrant to a Welsh farmer. The *Ohio Magazine* of November, 1907, relates:

Lying on the east side of the Scioto river, in Perry township, Franklin county, O., and extending from the Delaware county line well below the village of Dublin, standing on the opposite side of the river, is a tract of land known locally as "the Kosciuszko lands."

Probably few of those who live upon it know how it came to bear this honored name. Although the lands have been thus familiarly known for many years, it it not a matter of general public knowledge even among the people of the locality in which they are situated, that this land was once owned by Thaddeus Kosciuszko. It was set off and surveyed to him as a part of his reward and pay for services to the United States in the War of the Revolution.

On January 23, 1798, Congress authorized the Secretary of

the Treasury to issue to Kosciuszko a certificate of indebtedness of $12,260.54 with interest at six per cent. from January 7, 1793, to December 31, 1797. The final settlement of the account was made by payment amounting to $15,227.87.

In 1797 he revisited the United States, and this seems to be the occasion of the location of the lands. The fact that he located on the extreme western border of the United States military lands shows that he was one of the last to make sue of the privilege. Having the rank of Colonel he was entitled to 500 (five hundred) acres, so he took five of the one-hundred acre lots into which the section had been subdivided by the government.

The records of the state auditor's office show that the land was surveyed for Kosciuszko by C. H. Spencer, April 23, 1800. Kosciuszko first tried to make a sale of his lands, and failing in this he never paid any more attention to the property and it was sold for taxes.

GRATITUDE TO GATES.

After the visit to his old friend and companion in war, Kosciuszko departed from New York. On October 3d, from Elizabethtown, New Jersey, he wrote General Gates:

I cannot be at rest till I discharge part of the obligation that I owe to your kindness and hospitality I received in your house—if my wishes would correspond with the feelings of my heart, you would be the most happy person upon the Globe—believe me that my gratitude never will stop upon any occasion to show you, as well to convince you of my perfect respect, Esteem and afection.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RETURNS TO GENERAL WHITE'S—SUMMONED TO LEAD POLAND'S SONS —CLAIM AGAINST THE UNITED STATES ALLOWED.

Kosciuszko returned to General White's where he remained, "being all the time confined to his chair" or couch, until the end of November, 1797.

On October 25, 1797, Washington wrote Kosciuszko in reply to one from him dated Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in which Kosciuszko stated that his health would not permit him to visit Washington. Who replied regretting "the pain of your wounds you have received, though glorious for your reputation, is the occasion" of his inability to visit him. He added that "Whatever I can do as a private citizen, you can command," but that "all pecuniary matters must flow from the Legislature and in a form that cannot be dispensed with I am sure that your claim upon the justice and feelings of this country will meet with no delay. Nor do I suppose that the loss of your certificate will be any impediment. Your rank and services in the American army are too well known to require that testimony of your claim and the books of the Treasury will show that you received nothing in discharge of it, or, if any, to what amount."

While at Elizabeth, Kosciuszko learning that a son of Stephen Kollock was named after him, presented the lad with a golden cross he had, in 1792, been presented by the King of Poland. On one side was inscribed "S. A. R. P.," the initials of Stanislaus Augustus Rex Polaniæ, 1792. On the reverse, "Virtuti Militavi." [Alden's *Epitaphs*, I, 139.]

SEES PRESIDENT ADAMS.

On November 8th he wrote to Gates from New Brunswick, New Jersey, making reference to the arrival there of President Adams. He wrote:

The Presydent dining here to-day and as write this, the Canons give notice by their little noise of his aproching near the town. I expect see him at Gen. White's where he will drink tea.

On 27th November he wrote General Gates:

It would Hurt my feelings had I not write you leaving this place—and not send you my warmest thanks for your friendship

shown me under your roof, as well as to Mrs. Gates to her I send my respectfull Kisses. To-morrow I set out for Philadelphia.

General White's grandson, A. W. W. Evans, in his *Memoir of Kosciuszko* states, on information from his grandmother, that Kosciuszko while at his grandfather's "spent nearly all his time reclining on a sofa, sketching with a pencil and painting in water colors and India ink, fancy pieces, which he threw on the floor to be gathered by Mrs. Gen. White who gave them to friends.

"He used to wear around his head a black ribbon to hide the scar of a gastly sabre cut across his forehead."

Writing to Charles Pettit on March 10th asking his "advice of a peculiar kind," Kosciuszko said:

"I want to lay money upon interest but in the surest way not subject to changes and other circumstances and that I may draw regularly per cent. due from this sum. I hope you was so kind to give your opinion wether the Bank of the United States or upon a Provincial or other way with the money and how to do it. I rely upon you and also upon your character and friendship." He wrote because of the "impossibility of having half an hour personal interview. I cannot even move from one place to the other without support and help of my crutches and a servant." In postscript he added, "Present my kisses to all your Ladies." [Lenox Library, fac-simile.]

CHAPTER XIX.

SUMMONED TO TAKE COMMAND IN POLAND—HIS "MYSTERIOUS AND WONDERFUL RECOVERY"—RECEIVES CASH AND LAND FOR HIS REVOLUTIONARY SERVICES.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF FAVOR OF GENERAL WHITE.

In April, 1798, before returning to Europe he wrote Mrs. White to "obtain" her "pardon in full extent and force for the trouble I gave you during my stay at your house."

Evans' *Memoir* relates:

"In Spring, 1798, he received a package of letters from Europe. On reading one he became greatly excited and sprang from his couch into the middle of the room; until then he had not moved without assistance and then had to call valet to assist him. He said to General White, 'I must return at once to Europe.'"

In this recital Mr. Evans is astray even if the recital be founded upon his grandmother's narration. Kosciuszko was not at White's "in the Spring of 1978," as he left there the 28th of November, 1797, as he states in letters to Gates and as Niemciewicz's diary is additional proof. The incident occurred in Philadelphia and doubtless was the cause that prevented Kosciuszko remaining until death an inhabitant of the United States. He had projected the purchase of a farm at Saratoga Springs, the scene of his great activity and usefulness and was arranging a visit there with General Armstrong to examine a farm nearby his estate.

"The package contained the news of the organization of the Polish legions in France, which was then at war with Russia and Austria. Kosciuszko was summoned to take the chief directorship of the organization." [*Century Mag.*, LXIII, 513.]

Though the packet was not received at General White's in New Jersey but at Philadelphia, yet the statement that Kosciuszko "sprang from his couch" though before he had not moved without assistance is sustained by a letter of Niemciewicz, of September 3, 1798, from Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in which he stated that he had received a note of but four lines from Kosciuszko "without mentioning a single word of his health, his health, his *mysterious and wonderful recovery* or any private or political affairs." Thomas Jefferson wrote to Niemciewicz January 11th, 1801, that he had

learned from General Davie, one of the Commissioners to France, that Kosciuszko was 'in tolerable health and was able to walk about.'" [*Ibid,* 513.]

Concerning this "mysterious and wonderful recovery" Korson, the Polish biographer of Kosciuszko, submitted the possibility of such a recovery to a committee of a physician and a surgeon. The opinion printed in his life of Kosciuszko (*Krakow,* p. 677) was that it was not in opposition to the present state of medical knowledge. [*Century,* p. 514.]

About the first of December, 1797, Kosciuszko returned to Philadelphia to give attention to his claim for Revolutionary pay due him.

On December 22d the House of Representatives referred the claim to the Secretary of the Treasury. He reported on 28th:

That the accounts of Kosciuszko were settled in 1784, when a certificate for $12,280.49 bearing interest at six per cent. from January 1st was issued; that according to Act passed 3d February, 1784, the interest due foreign officers was to be paid annually at Paris; that the Act of 8th May, 1792, money was granted to pay principal and interest to all foreign officers, it being supposed that all had drawn interest to 1st of January, 1792, as sufficient money had been remitted for that purpose; that it appears from examination of the accounts of Mr. Grand, the American banker at Paris, that no interest had been received by Kosciuszko from 1784 to 1788 inclusive; that interest for 1789 to 1792 had been placed at Amsterdam, subject to Mr. Morris, the American Minister at Paris, who had remitted the interest to Mr. Pinckney, our Minister to London, who had at Kosciuszko's request directed the American bankers at Amsterdam to transmit the amount due Kosciuszko to Leipsic or Dresden; that Kosciuszko had never received the money and it must therefore remain subject to his disposal; that Kosciuszko declares that the certificate given him has been lost or destroyed; that the principal of $12,280.54 and the interest of $2,947.33 for 1785-6-7-8 could be paid on receiving Kosciuszko's bond of indemnity for the lost or destroyed certificate; that it is not in the Treasury's power to allow the interest supposed to have been sent to Amsterdam, Leipsic or Dresden, nor to consider the circumstances which prevented him from receiving payment nor to allow interest thereon since January 3, 1793. [*Am. State Papers,* XIX, p. 208.]

The claim was allowed January 23, 1798, and Kosciuszko was paid $15,227.87.

During Kosciuszko's residence in Philadelphia, then the seat of government and Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, General Gates wrote Kosciuszko, through Jefferson, who on February 21, 1798, wrote Gates: "I see him often, and with great pleasure mixed with commiseration. He is as pure a son of Liberty, as I have ever known, and of that liberty which is to go to all, and not to the few or the rich alone."

The late Rev. P. A. Jordan, S.J., of Old St. Joseph's, Philadelphia, relates that "the Jesuits praised highly the piety of Kosciuszko while in Philadelphia." Father Jordan had learned this from the generation of Jesuits preceding him.

CHAPTER XX.

DEPARTURE FOR EUROPE—HIS AMERICAN WILL.

It must have been in March, 1798, that Kosciuszko received the package containing the summons to return to Paris to lead the Polish organized legions preparing for another endeavor for "Faith and Country." February he was ready to proceed to Saratoga to examine a farm near General Armstrong's and, no doubt, to settle down to peace and content in our land. But the summons changed all quickly.

Concerning Kosciuszko's return to Europe Niemciewicz, in an eulogium pronounced at Warsaw, 14th November, 1817, stated:

"Was it the delusion of hope or the wish to have the advantage of the best medical advice that induced Kosciuszko to revisit the shores of Europe once more? If it was hope, soon, alas, did he perceive its fallaciousness and vanity, and the inutility of human exertions. He rejected the bustle and applause of the world and, if I may so express myself, enclosed himself in the mantle of his own virtues and retired to the rural solitude of a farm."

The orator well knew why Kosciuszko had returned to Europe. He and Thomas Jefferson alone knew.

His departure was most secret. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, applied to M. Letombe, Consel of France; to the Spanish Minister, the Marquis d' Yrojo, and to Mr. Listen, the English Consul, for passports for Thomas Kanberg, whom Jefferson declared "is a most excellent character, standing in no relation whatever to any of the belligerent powers as to whom Thomas Jefferson is not afraid to be responsible for his political innocence, as he goes merely for his private business. He will sail from Baltimore if he finds from there a good opportunity for France."

Drafts of these three applications are among Jefferson's Papers in Library of Congress all marked in a hand, other than Jefferson's, "this was for Kosciuszko."

Kosciuszko was now prepared to return to Europe, going directly to France. He arranged with Thomas Jefferson to "convey his effects in the Bank of Pennsylvania" and gave Jefferson "a power of attorney for the superintendence of his interests." Jefferson proposed to Kosciuszko that Messrs. Nicholas and Leeds, Van Staphorst and Hubbard of Amsterdam should be agents at

Paris to receive from Mr. Barnes of Philadelphia, whom Jefferson would appoint to receive, "every twelve months the General's dividends, which will be drawn half yearly," and by this firm paid to Kosciuszko.

In November, 1798, Porcupine's *Gazette*, referring to "facts respecting this much admired insurgent chief which Mr. Fenno's paper of the 6th had printed," said:

Kosciuszko "during his late residence in America exhibited a picture which seemed more to call for commisseration than to awaken suspicion or apprehension. Mangled, weak and emaciated he was confined to his room; enjoying of life no other pleasure than what was administered by the friendly society of those, who, either through pity or curiosity, visited him. Even in this confinement, however, he probably experienced the highest happiness of which his pride was susceptible, being politely attended by every distinguished member of the Federal government; by most of the ladies as well as the gentlemen, of this city and New York. This view of his situation contributed, no doubt, to accelerate the pecuniary grant which Congress, during that session made him in consideration of his services in our Revolution.

"Among the most intimate and frequent visitors of this *incognito* General (for such he may be termed) were Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Vice-President of the United States; Senator Mason, Dr. Logan, Judge McKean, Thomas Mifflin." [*Works*, X, 10.]

LEAVES PHILADELPHIA.

Cobbett's *Gazette* later in the year said:

"On night of 4th o May Kosciuszko, after an interview with Jefferson, departed in a close coach for (as was supposed) Virginia. Of the former, nothing had been heard until it was known he was in France." [Vol X, 11.]

The whereabouts of Kosciuszko became a matter of interest to those who knew him.

Though he had in March received the summons to return to take command of the Legion, it was not until May his affairs were in a condition to justify his return. He decided to leave "in secrecy fearing, and not without reason, that he would fall into the hands of the enemies of France whose vessels crossed the seas in all directions." [*Century*, p. 514.]

Niemciewicz spread the news that Kosciuszko had gone to a health resort in the South. Kosciuszko had instructed him to go southward as if following him. He did so and was everywhere "overwhelmed with questions," he wrote Jefferson when he arrived at Washington, the Federal City, May 27th. He added, "I do not know how I extricated myself from them; all I know is that the profession of a liar is as difficult as it is mortifying to one not accustomed to it. Nevertheless," he continued, "you can be sure that the secret is strictly preserved; nobody suspects the truth; some suppose he really is on his way to the springs; others imagine we have quarreled and have separated. Some assume that you have him concealed at Monticello."

Though Kosciuszko "disappeared" about May 5th it seems to be likely that he had not got beyond the coast line of our shores and was within probably reach of Jefferson, who, June 1st, wrote him: "I hope you have passed the cruising grounds quickly, and that you have arrived safely at the term of your journey. Your departure is not known or even suspected." [Evans' *Memoir,* p. 26.]

Could he have gone to one of our Southern ports and taken a vessel hence to France? To reach "the term of his journey," unless a nearby port, could scarcely have been Jefferson's belief if arriving at France was in mind. He did not arrive in Paris until the middle of July.

CHAPTER XXI.

HIS WILL—FOR LIBERTY AND EDUCATION—CONTROVERSY AND CONTESTS.

WILLS HIS AMERICAN MONEY FOR LIBERATION AND EDUCATION OF SLAVES.

It was during the interview with Jefferson on the night of May the fourth, we may not doubt, that Kosciuszko drew up his will, and on May 5th signed it. It is on record at Charlottesville, Virginia, where it was probated by Thomas Jefferson on May 17, 1819.

[COPY OF WILL.]

I Thaddeus Kosciuszko, being just in my departure from America, do hereby declare and direct that, should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend, Thomas Jefferson, to employ the whole thereof in purchasing negroes from among his own or any others, and giving them liberty in my name, in giving them an education, in trades or otherwise, and in having them instructed, for their new condition, in the duties of morality which may make them good neighbors, good fathers or moders, husbands or wives, and in their duties as citizens, teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and Country, and of the good order of society, and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful, and I make the said Thomas Jefferson my executor of this.

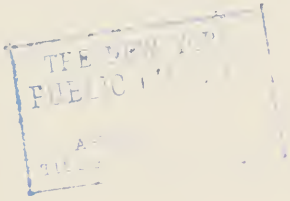
5th day of May, 1798. T. KOSCIUSZKO.

Kosciuszko died at Soleure, Switzerland, on October 15, 1817.

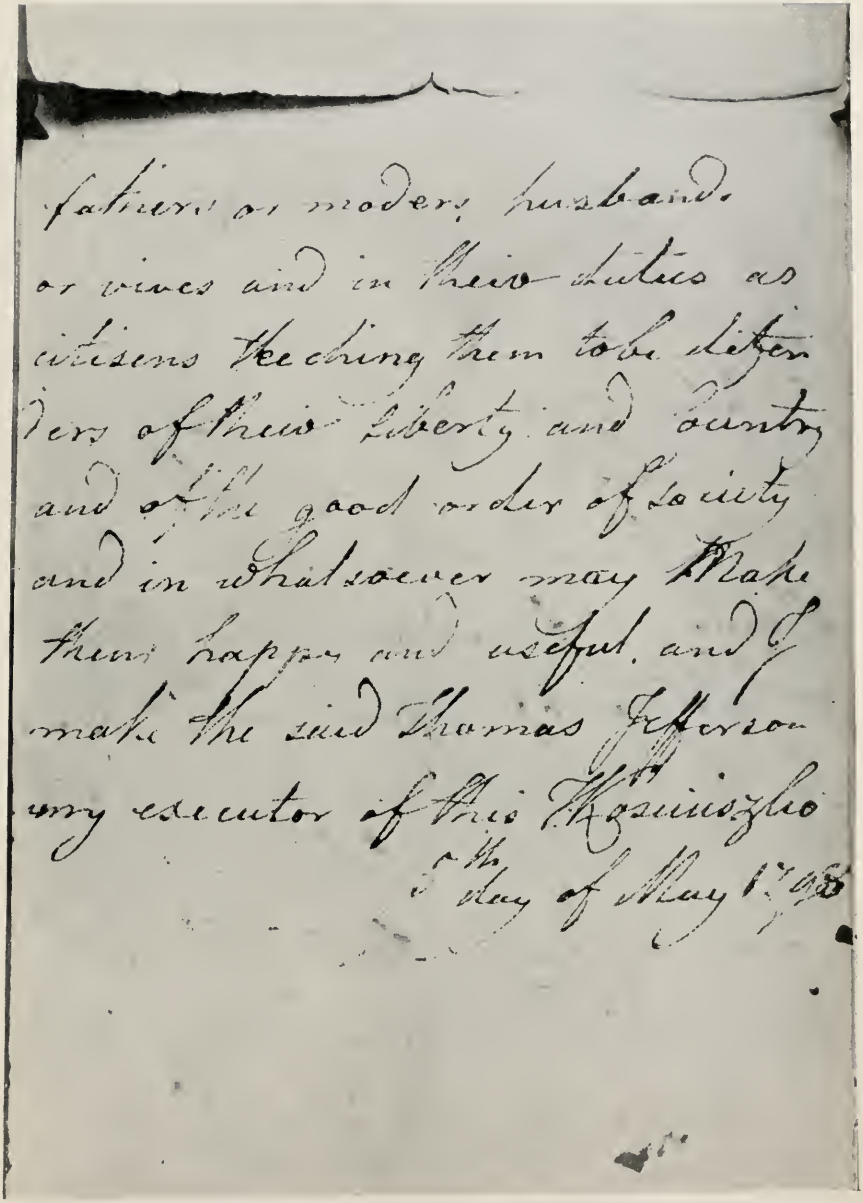
After his death complications arose concerning administration, claims and settlement into which it is not within our scope to enter and detail, though we have gathered all the records thereof.

Legan contests ensued and continued until April 11, 1853, before final decision and disbursement was arrived at. Then $34,132.15 was paid his heirs. [*Mem. Cent. Poland*, Chicago, 1894.]

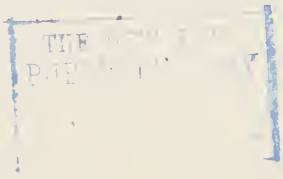
Having now brought our narration of Kosciuszko's career to his return to France, it is not within the limits of our recital to detail his career in Europe, further than to record that he lived "near the barrier St. Andre not far from St. Antoine where he cultivated his own garden and where James Madison and Col.



I Thaddeus Kosciuszko being just
in my departure from America do
hereby declare and direct that should
I make no other testamentary dis
position of my property in the United
States I hereby authorise my friend
Thomas Jefferson to employ the
whole thereof in purchasing Negroes
from among his own or any others
and giving them liberty in my
name, in giving them an educa
tion in trades or otherwise and
in having them instructed for
their new condition in the du
ties of morality which may make
them good neighbours good

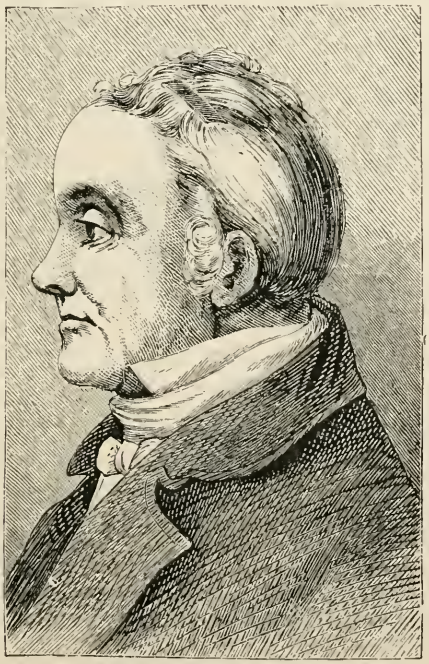


fathers or moders husband
or wives and in their duties as
citizens teaching them to be lifer
vers of their Liberty and Country
and of the good order of Society
and in whatsoever may Make
them happy and useful and I
make the said Thomas Peterson
my executor of this Kosciuszko
6th day of May 1798



Mercer found him returning from his garden with water pots." He was, in 1801 and perhaps later, "considered as head of the Polish corps in the service of France, kept a table as such and was the regular organ between them and the government of France. In 1802 Kosciuszko sent President Jefferson a drawing for his own use and four copies of an engraving of which Jefferson gave James Madison one and retained the others for his own family. In 1803 James Monroe, our Minister to France, wrote President Jefferson that Kosciuszko "thinks seriously of returning to the United States."

In 1807 Kosciuszko's friend Julian V. Niemciewicz, resident at Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, wrote Jefferson that he intended to return to Europe, and that if he had any message to Kosciuszko he would be happy to execute it. To which Jefferson replies, April 22d, that though he had not written to Kosciuszko "from principles of caution," he knew "he is always doing what he thinks is right and knows my prayers for his success in whatever he does," but to "assure him of my constant affection."



THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO: 1817.

CHAPTER XXII.

KOSCIUSZKO'S MANOEUVRES FOR HORSE ARTILLERY—THE FIRST GENERAL SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION USED BY THE UNITED STATES ARTILLERY.

In 1800, at Paris, at the request of General William R. Davie, then envoy from the United States to France, Kosciuszko prepared "Manœuvres of Horse Artillery." He sent it to General Davie, saying:

"You will find under this cover the "Manœuvres for Horse Artillery" I promised to write, which to you will be sufficiently intelligible without drawings. The calibre of the pieces may be increased as you please, but care must be taken that all the iron work of the carriages be made in proportion strong and the number of horses should be regulated by the weight to be drawn."

In 1808, August 15th, General Davie, then at Catauba, near Lancaster, C. H., requested the United States Military Philosophical Society of West Point to have the Manual translated and published. It was translated by Colonel Jonathan Williams, Colonel-Commandant of the Corps of Engineers and President of the Society. It was published in 1808 by Campbell & Mitchell, of New York, with eighteen plates.

Colonel Campbell in the "Introduction" said:

The regulations were "drawn up by a man who rendered essential personal service in the days of difficulty and danger and no one can be more capable of instructing us; the performance has therefore the double merit of friendship in the motive and talents in the execution."

General Davie in his letter to the Society declared the Manœuvres was "compiled by an officer who was completely master of the subject and whose whole life has been devoted to military science. The publication would be of great importance to our country. It is perhaps the only treatise on this subject in the world . . . and to this country of immense value and importance—its importance to our country under the present aspect of the times."

Colonel Williams presented President Jefferson with a copy of the work. Thus it will be seen that Kosciuszko was serviceable

to our country long after he had gone from it, and that he was in fact the Father of the American Artillery.

FATHER OF THE AMERICAN CAVALRY.

There were, it is true, artillery companies, State and Continental, during the Revolutionary War; that General Knox was the Commander of the Artillery service and that General Du Coudray, a French officer, came to this country on a contract with Silas Deane, one of the American Commissioners to France, to take command of the Artillery so as to place it upon a more scientific and serviceable basis. Congress repudiated the compact. But that to General Kosciuszko, and after he had returned to Europe, is due the supplying of the first effective system for the thorough organization of the Artillery department of the United States Army is sustained by the records as presented in Lieutenant Birkhimer's *Historical Sketch of the Organization, Administration, Material and Tactics of Artillery, United States Army*, published in 1884. He relates:

"A second war with Great Britain found the United States without any recognized system of instruction save Baron Steuben's infantry regulations and a system of horse-artillery manœuvres by General Kosciuszko. . . . War was declared without the Government having at its disposal any system of manœuvres for the artillery except that of Kosciuszko. Major Amos Stoddard compiled and hurried through the press a small work on the manual of cannon and the manœuvres of field and horse artillery. It was incomplete in detail. The emergency did not permit of elaboration; yet it proved sufficient for practical purposes. As the order adopting Stoddard's work furnishes the first instance of the artillery being authoritatively supplied with a general system of instruction, it merits preservation."

War Department, August 1, 1812.

The "exercises for cannon and field ordnance" and "Manœuvres for horse artillery, as altered from the Manual of General Kosciuszko and adapted to the service of the United States" are hereby ordered for the government of the several Corps of Artillery in the said service.

The Government gave the West Point Philosophical Society $200 for the copyright of Kosciuszko's "Manœuvres" thus appropriated. [P. 302, No. 2451, Phila. Lib.]

After Kosciuszko's "Manœuvres" had been published in 1808, it was followed in 1809 by "Tousard's Artillery Companion," begun in 1795 at request of President Washington. Tousard was a Catholic.

In 1820 was published in two volumes a "Treatise on Artillery" by General Henry Lallamand of Philadelphia who had been Commander of the Artillery of the Imperial Guard under Napoleon, but proscribed by Louis XVIII, July 24, 1815, came to the United States. On October 28, 1817, at St. Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, he was married to Henrietta Maria Girard, niece of Stephen Girard. He, with Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, Count de Grouchy and General Charles Lallamand, were present.

General Henry Lallamand died September 16, 1822, and is buried at Holy Trinity graveyard, Sixth and Spruce Streets.

Thus it appears that Kosciuszko's "Manœuvres" prepared at the request of General Davie, United States Minister to France, translated by Colonel Williams of West Point and in 1808 published by the Military Philosophical Society was, as altered and adapted to the service of the United States by Major Stoddard, "the first instance of Artillery being authoritatively supplied with a general system of instruction," and that the War of 1812 was fought by artillery, in accord with these Manœuvres.

Consequently it may be justly and fairly claimed that General Thaddeus Kosciuszko was THE FATHER OF THE AMERICAN ARTILLERY.

Captain John Barry: THE FATHER OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

General Count Pulaski: THE FATHER OF THE AMERICAN CAVALRY.

Catholics all.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DEATH OF KOSCIUSZKO.

"Died at Soleure, October 15th, 1817."

The hero's funeral was simple and destitute of military pomp, but most impressive, owing to the universal sorrow and the large number of mourners to whom he had been a father ,and who now followed his coffin with tears and lamentations. Six poor old men carried the coffin. The procession was headed by orphan children wearing mourning-scarfs and bearing flowers in their hands. The coffin was open that all Soleure might gaze once more at the dear features of the great and good man. Youths walked on either side, bearing, on black velvet cushions, Kosciuszko's sword, his hat, his *bâton,* the regalia of the Cincinnati, and laurel and oak wreaths. The remains were placed in a leaden coffin in the Church of the Jesuits, at Soleure, after the solemn service of the dead had been celebrated. The authorities then affixed their official seals to it, whereupon the leaden coffin was inclosed in a wooden one, and deposited in the vault of the church.

There was a loud burst of grief throughout Poland when the news came that her great leader was dead. It seemed intolerable to the nation that he should repose in foreign soil. The Emperor Alexander was requested, in the name of the people of Poland, to permit the burial of the remains of the idolized General in his native country. Alexander, who had repeatedly expressed his esteem and sympathy for Kosciuszko, granted the request with the utmost readiness. The authorities of Soleure acknowledged the claims of Poland: Kosciuszko's coffin was taken from its grave, and, accompanied by Prince Jablonowsky, Alexander's chamberlain, conveyed amidst imposing solemnities to Poland. But his heart had been placed in a metal box at the time the remains were embalmed, and it had been buried in the grave-yard of Zuchwil. "The heart of the Polish General throbbed for the whole world; let it, then, be accessible here to the veneration of all mankind." With these words Mr. Zeltner had refused to allow the Poles to remove Kosciuszko's heart. [*Harper's Mag.,* 1868, p. 483.]

At Zuchwil, the capital of the Canton of Soleure, a monument was erected bearing the simple epitaph

VISCERA THADDEI KOSCIUSZKO.

But the heart was not allowed to remain there. The body was removed to Cracow. The heart, after the death of M. de Zeltner, passed, as a revered heirloom, to the noble house of Morosini, on the occasion of the marriage of Kosciuszko's god-daughter, Mlle. de Zeltner to Count Morosini. It was then placed for safe-keeping in the chapel at Vezio, near Lugano. The heirs of Count Morosini in 1895 presented it to the Polish Museum in Rapperswyl on Lake Zurich in Switzerland. There it now remains. Kosciuszko's god-child was Emilie Thaddee de Zeltner who married Count Morosini. She was the mother of Countess Morosini who of late years lived in Milan. She has an original aquarelle painted in 1811 by Kosciuszko for her mother. Colonel Joseph Smolinski of Washington City has a photograph reproduction of the painting. A copy is also in the Museum at Rapperswyl.

"Kosciuszko died as it became a Christian and a soldier, with a firm reliance on his God, with complacency and manly fortitude. Poor, as his prototypes, Phocion and Cincinnatus, he forbade all pomp and show at his funeral; and that man, who in the field of battle had commanded thousands of armed warriors, was carried to the last repository of frail mortality upon the shoulders of six poor men." [Niemciewicz.]

Requiem Mass was celebrated at the Church of St. Roche in Paris, where this memorial inscription was displayed:

POLAND LAMENTS HER PATRIOT;
AMERICA HER ILLUSTRIOUS DEFENDER;
FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND THE MAN
OF BENEFICENCE AND VIRTUE, AND
RUSSIA ADMIRES THE ENEMY
UNSHAKEN IN HIS PRINCIPLES
AND UNDAUNTED IN ADVERSITY.

[Garden's *Anec.*, II, p. 206.]

"His remains were brought to Cracow and laid to rest in the royal crypt in the Cathedral on the Wawel, where only Catholics could be buried. At that time solemn Requiem Masses were celebrated throughout Poland for the repose of his soul." [Rev. Pawlowski, Uniontown, Pa.]

"The brave, disinterested and virtuous Kosciuszko is now no more. He is gone where the voice of flattery cannot reach, followed by the praises of the good in every clime where Liberty

is prized or understood. He loved America, fought and bled in her defence. In all his intercourse with the citizens of this country he evinced the utmost desire to serve her cause and promote their interests." [*Analectic*, 1818, p. 432.]

HIS FIRST HISTORIAN.

The annexed letter to Thomas Jefferson shows an endeavor to write the life of General Kosciuszko. Was the Life compiled by Jullien? No trace of it can be discovered in this country. The Library of Congress has no copy.

MONUMENTS.

There are monuments to Kosciuszko at Perth Amboy, New Jersey (1894); at Cleveland, Ohio (1904); at Milwaukee, Wisconsin (June 18, 1905), and at Chicago, Illinois (September 11, (1904); at the Military Academy, West Point, New York (1828), and in May of this year—1910—one will be unveiled at Washington City. All have been erected by popular subscription, except the one at West Point, which was erected by the Corps of Cadets, the cornerstone being laid July 4th, 1828.

MONUMENT AT WEST POINT.

Concerning this memorial Niles' *Register* of November 13, 1824, stated:

"The cadets of the United States Military Academy at West Point have offered a gold medal of the value of fifty dollars for the best design for a monument to the memory of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko. It is to be erected at West Point on a romantic spot, situated on the banks of the Hudson and known by the name of Kosciuszko's Garden."

The oration on the occasion of the cornerstone laying was by Cadet Charles Petigru. He recalled "Some of the virtues and excellencies of the great and good man, as a tribute of our admiration for whose character and sense of whose services in the cause of Liberty in two hemispheres." The monument was designed to commemorate the "superior and ennobling virtues which adorned the character and shall immortalize the name of Kosciuszko.

The monument at West Point is a plain panelled base surmounted by a capped and fluted column, bearing the exile's name only tells all that marble can say, without encroaching upon the

duty of every American mother in whose heart a love of Country is implanted. [Boyton's *His.*]

The compiler visited it January 25, 1910, when a severe snowstorm prevailed.

PROJECTED MONUMENT AT NEW YORK.

On September 9, 1873, Polish residents of New York met and formed an Association to erect a monument to Kosciuszko in Central Park. The President was M. Zborouski.

But Alexander Nuber de Pereked, the Austro-Hungarian Consulate-General, writes us, "Such a monument was not erected in New York."

MONUMENT AT PERTH AMBOY, NEW JERSEY.

To "honor the memory of the dead and to give expression to the sentiments of gratitude, reverence and patriotism," the Poles of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, on May 30, 1894, when was celebrated the first anniversary of the dedication of the Church of St. Stephen's, a memorial bust of Kosciuszko was unveiled on the lawn midway between the church and the rectory. There were present on the occasion the local G. A. R. Post, Battery I of the Polish Artillery of Newark and the local societies of Perth Amboy and South Amboy. The History of the church says:

"Many persons to whom the name of Kosciuszko had been till then unknown, learned that our nation, at dawn of American liberty, deserved well of this country. If deprived of our fatherland we find her hospitality and freedom, we may remember, on our side, that we have some claim to fellowship on account of the merits of our forefathers.

"The monument first erected was a temporary one, and was replaced two years later by a bust of terra cotta, which will stand as an enduring tribute to our hero who fought so bravely also for American liberty."

MONUMENT AT CHICAGO.

On September 11, 1904, a monument to Kosciuszko was unveiled at Humboldt Park, Chicago. It was erected, said Alderman John Smulski in presenting it to the West Park Board, not as "the gift of a millionaire or a corporation. It is the gift of the poor people of Chicago—Poles who have saved their pennies that it might be erected in loving memory of their hero."

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KOSCIUSZKO'S MONUMENT AT WASHINGTON

The oration was delivered by United States Senator A. J. Hopkins. M. B. Steczynski, President of the Polish National Alliance, delivered the chief Polish address. M. A. La Buy, President of the Kosciuszko Monument Association, opened the ceremonies. Dr. Adam Szwaykart accepted the monument on behalf of the Park Commissioners. The monument cost eighteen thousand dollars.

STATUE AT MILWAUKEE.

A handsome equestrian statue of Kosciuszko was erected in 1905 by popular subscription of the Poles of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It was unveiled June 18, 1905. Addresses were delivered by Father Gulski (in Polish), Mayor Rose (in English), Archbishop Albin Symon (Polish) and Attorney Gonski.

Gulski made the presentation speech, and reviewed the life of Kosciuszko in a Polish oration. Pointing to the inscription on the base of the monument, "To the Hero of Two Hemispheres," Father Gulski declared that the Poles in honoring Kosciuszko were performing a double duty, that of honoring a great and noble Pole and champion of liberty and as American citizens in honoring the deeds of Kosciuszko in America's struggle for independence. In presenting the monument to the city of Milwaukee Father Gulski declared he gave "a sacred trust to be sacredly kept forever."

THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF POPE PIUS.

Archbishop Albin Symon, of Rome, who was in this country on a missionary apostolic visit at the personal request of Pope Pius X, was in the parade. His address at the unveiling exercises was the principal oration, and struck the keynote of the day's festivities. The prelate was so moved by the demonstration of his countrymen that in closing his address he proposed cheers for Poland and the United States, which were enthusiastically given by the thousands present. [*Freeman's Journal,* July 15, 1905.]

AT WASHINGTON.

Next month, May, 1910, will be unveiled at Washington a monument erected by popular subscription of the Poles throughout the country through the National Polish Alliance. The sculptor is Professor Antonio Papiel, born in 1865 at Szazakowa in Galicia, Poland. In 1907 he came to Chicago to create the Kosciuszko statue, after having won first prize in the contest for best model,

in which twenty other artists took part. His creation will be a work of real art, and Polish genius will again assert itself.

He is now in Poland.

The monument will have a granite pedestal and huge figures of Kosciuszko (11 ft.), the Raclawice group depicting heroism (9 ft.) and Freedom group (9 ft.). Width of all, 28 ft.

BATTLE MONUMENT AT MONMOUTH.

The National Monument at Monmouth, New Jersey, commemorative of the Battle, James E. Kelly, sculptor, has portraits of Revolutionary worthies. Among others that of Brigadier-General Enoch Poor of whom no portrait was known other than one "sketched on the fly leaf of a hymn book by Kosciuszko who, while in a Protestant church during service, spent his time sketching Poor, who sat in range, rather than listen to heretical doctrine." The book belonged to Mr. Cilley, of New Hampshire. [*The Pilot,* Boston, October 3, 1885.]

There is at the Capitol at Washington a bust statue of Kosciuszko.

MONUMENT TO KOSCIUSZKO.

President Monroe, on November 15, 1820, wrote Thomas Jefferson that the Senate of Cracow proposed to erect a statue to Kosciuszko and that aid was solicited. He reminded Jefferson that a like effort to honor Washington had failed in this country.

IMPORTANT LETTER OF THOMAS JEFFERSON TO KOSCIUSZKO RELATING TO A POSSIBLE WAR WITH ENGLAND.

In 1808 Kosciuszko was "in want." President Jefferson requested, on April 21st, General Samuel Smith to attend to sending his "ancient fellow soldier" one thousand dollars," the proceeds of his property in our fund," as Mr. Barnes was too ill to do business. However, when Jefferson's term had expired and he had retired to his estate, Monticello, he wrote Kosciuszko as follows, making a revelation of his personal affairs and his financial condition now of historical interest:

MONTICELLO, Feb. 26, 1810.

My dear General and Friend—

I have rarely written to you; never but by safe conveyances; and avoiding every thing political, lest, coming from one in the

station I then held, it might be imputed injuriously to our country, or perhaps even excite jealousy of you, hence my letters were necessarily dry. Relieved now from public concerns, totally unconnected with them, and avoiding all curiosity about what is done or intended, what I say is from myself only, the workings of my own mind, imputable to nobody else. The anxieties which I know you have felt, on seeing exposed to the justlings of a warring world, a country to which in early life you devoted your sword and services, when oppressed by foreign dominion, were worthy of your philanthropy and disinterested attachment to the freedom and happiness of men. Altho' we have not made all the provisions which might be necessary for a war in the field of Europe, yet we have not been inattentive to such as would be necessary here. From the moment that the affair of the Chesapeake rendered the prospect of war imminent, every faculty was exerted to be prepared for it, and I think I may venture to solace you with the assurance that we are in a good degree prepared. Military stores for many campaigns are on hand, all the necessary articles (sulphur excepted) and the art of preparing them among ourselves abundantly, arms in our magazines for more men than will be required in the field, and 40,000 new stand yearly added, of our own fabrication, superior to any we have ever seen from Europe; heavy artillery much beyond our need, an increasing stock of field pieces, several foundries casting one every other day, each; a military school of about 50 students which has been in operation a dozen years, and the manufacture of men constantly going on, and adding 40,000 young souldiers to our force every year that the war is deferred; at all our seaport towns of the least consequenre we have erected works of defence, and assigned them gunboats, carrying one or two heavy pieces, either 18*s* 24*s* or 32 pounders, sufficient in the small harbors to repel the predatory attacks of privateers or single armed ships, and proportioned in the larger harbors to such more serious attacks as they may probably be exposed to. All these were nearly completed, and their gunboats in readiness, when I retired from the government. The works of New York and New Orleans alone being on a much larger scale, are not yet compleated. The former will be finished this summer, mounting 438 guns, and with the aid of from 50 to 100 gunboats will be adequate to the resistance of any fleet which will ever be trusted across the Atlantic; the works of N. Orleans are less advanced. These are our prepara-

tions. They are very different from what you will be told by newspapers, and travellers, even Americans. But it is not to them the government communicates the public condition. Ask one of them if he knows the exact state of any particular harbour, and you will find probably that he does not know even that of the one he comes from. You will ask perhaps where are the proofs of these preparations for one who cannot go and see them. I answer, in the acts of Congress authorizing such preparations, and in your knolege of me that, if authorised, they would be executed. Two measures have not been adopted which I pressed on Congress repeatedly at their meetings. The one, to settle the whole ungranted territory of Orleans by donations of land to able bodied young men, to be engaged and carried there at the public expense, who would constitute a force always ready on the spot to defend New Orleans. The other was to class the militia according to the years of their birth, and make all those from 20 to 25 liable to be trained and called into service at a moment's warning. This would have given us a force of 300,000 young men, prepared by proper training for service in any part of the U. S. while those who had passed thro' that period would remain at home liable to be used in their own or adjacent states. These two measures would have compleated what I deemed necessary for the entire security of our country. Thy would have given me on my retirement from the government of the nation, the consolatory reflection that having found, when I was called to it, not a single seaport town in a condition to repel a levy of contribution by a single privateer or private, I had left every harbor so prepared by works and gunboats as to be in a reasonable state of security against any probable attack; the territory of Orleans acquired and planted with an internal force sufficient for it's protection, and the whole territory of the U. S. organized by such a classification of its male force as would give it the benefit of all it's young population for active service. And that of a middle and advanced age for stationary defence. But these measures will, I hope, be compleated by my successor, who, to the purest principles of republican patriotism, adds a wisdom and foresight second to no man on earth.

So much as to my country. Now a word as to myself. I am retired to Monticello, where, in the bosom of my family, and surrounded by my books, I enjoy a repose to which I have been long a stranger. My mornings are devoted to correspondence;

from breakfast to dinner, I am in my shops, my garden, or on horseback among my farms; from dinner to dark I give to society and recreation with my neighbors and friends; and from candle-light to early bed-time I read. My health is perfect and my strength considerably reinforced by the activity of the course I pursue; perhaps it is as great as usually falls to the lot of near 67 years of age. I talk of ploughs and harrows, seeding and harvesting, with my neighbors, and of politics too if they chuse, with as little reserve as the rest of my fellow citizens, and feel at length the blessing of being free to say and do what I please, without being responsible for it to any mortal. A part of my occupation, and by no means the least pleasing, is the direction of the studies of such young men as ask it. They place themselves in the neighboring village, and have the use of my library and counsel, and make a part of my society. In advising the course of their reading, I endeavor to keep their attention fixed on the main objects of all science, the freedom and happiness of man. So that coming to bear a share in the councils and government of their country, they will keep ever in view the sole objects of all legitimate government.

From this portion of my personal condition, I must turn to another of unpleasant hue, and apologize to you for what has given me much mortification. For sometime before I retired from the government I anxiously endeavored to have all outstanding accounts called in, and no new ones contracted, that I might retire, at least without any embarrassment of debt. Wholly occupied with the care of the public affairs, I was obliged to trust to others for that of my own: and in the last moments of my stay in Washington, notwithstanding my precautions, accounts came in a mass so overwhelming as to exceed all my resources by ten or twelve thousand Dollars. A friend accomodated me readily with a considerable part of the deficiency to be reimbursed out of the first proceeds of my estate. While sunk in affliction as to the residue, Mr. Barnes suggested that the public were paying off the whole of the 8 per cent. stock, that he had not yet received yours of that description, or reinvested it in any other form; that he had thought of placing it in bank stock, but, he supposed, if I should pay you an interest equal to the dividends on bank stock, it would be indifferent to you from what hand your profits came: and that the 4500 D. of yours then disengaged, would entirely

relieve my remaining deficiency. The proposition was like a beam of light; and I was satisfied that were you on the spot to be consulted the kindness of your heart would be gratified, while receiving punctually the interest for your own subsistence, to let the principal be so disposed of for a time, as to lift a friend out of distress. I therefore gave Mr. Barnes a proper written acknowledgement of the debt, and he applied your 8 per cent. principal to the closing of my affairs. I was the more encouraged to do this, because I knew it was not your intention to call your capital from this country during your life, and that should any accident happen to you, it's charitable destination, as directed by the paper you left with me, would not be at all delayed. I have set apart an estate of 3000 D. a year which I have at some distance from Monticello, and which is now engaged in reimbursing what was furnished by the friend I alluded to. It will be nearly accomplished by the close of this year. Two more years will suffice for the residue of that and yours; when this part of your funds can again be invested in some of the monied institutions. The divertion of it from them for 4 or 5 years, will in the mean time have saved me. But the affliction is a sore one, and needs the solace of your approbation. Instead of the unalloyed happiness of retiring unembarrassed and independent, to the enjoyment of my estate, which is ample for my limited views, I have to pass such a length of time in a thraldom of mind never before known to me. Except for this, my happiness would have been perfect. That yours may never know disturbance, and that you may enjoy as many years of life, health and ease as yourself shall wish, is the sincere prayer of your constant and affectionate friend,

TH: JEFFERSON.

P.S.—I put under cover herewith Mr. Barnes's letter with his annual account and a remittance of £200 sterl. The Duplicates shall follow by another occasion. [*Jefferson Papers,* Series 1, Vol. XIII, p. 40.]

This "confidential" letter Jefferson directed Mr. John Graham to send by a "safe conveyance."

REVOLUTIONARY CATHOLIC NOTES

JOHN HANCOCK DENOUNCES "THE JESUITICAL" DISTINCTION OF A BRITISH OFFICER.

John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, writing to General Washington from Philadelphia, July 13, 1776, said:

"In obedience to the Commands of Congress I have enclosed you two copies of sundry resolves they have passed relative to the treatment of our prisoners by Captain Foster in Canada. . . . Should the United States of America give their sanction to the Jesuitical and villainous distinction which Captain Foster adopts to justify his conduct, there would be no end to butchering our Prisoners. They have therefore reprobated it and in the genuine spirit of Freedom resolved that such cruelty as shall be inflicted on Prisoners in their Possession by Savages or Foreigners taken into Pay by the King of Great Britain, shall be considered as done by his order and Recourse be immediately had to Retaliation. . . . There is the Greatest Reason to believe that Captain Foster engaged the Indians to join him on the express Condition of giving up to them all such prisoners as might fall into his Hand," etc. [H. Goldsmith's *Collec. Anderson,* January 10, 1908.]

"A JESUITICAL COMPLEXION."

General George Weldon, distinguished at the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown, in writing from Fredericksburg, March 11, 1783, to Hon. John F. Mercer, of Congress at Philadelphia, said:

"This week has appeared the longest I ever remember to have spent. Peace and War have Altinitely changed with the day tho without the smallest reason.

I have been a strong advocate for the former and back my Opinion with a Beaver Hatt which I fear another person will ware."

Speaking of a speech by George III, he says:

"The speech has a Jesuitical complexion and may be calculated to answer the purposes of a lure. When we consider how reluctantly that Gummy-throat fellow must part with the Colonies and how necessary it was to quiet the minds of his people in order to get a little more cash from them." Etc., etc. [*Ibid.*]

ENGLAND ASSISTED BY CATHOLICS AND INDIANS.

An American, Williamsburgh [Va.], January 5, 1776:

"Could not Britons venture to wage war with Americans, till they were told Americans were cowards—till they had disarmed them, or had, as they thought, put it out of their power to procure arms; nor even then, without the assistance of Roman Catholics and Indians and endeavouring to raise amongst them a domestic enemy?" [*Am. Ar.*, 4-4, 539.]

POPERY NOT TO BE TOLERATED.

A British American of North Carolina in an address "To the Inhabitants of the United Colonies," dated December 28, 1775, advocated "an immediate Independency," and nine other measures. The last one was: That religion in each Province be continued on the footing it now is and that no man be despised on account of his religious opinions, provided they do not interfere with the peace and safety of the community; except that Popery shall not be countenanced, by law, in any of the United Colonies. [*Am. Ar.*, 4-4, 473.]

Johannesin Avemo in an address "To the Public," dated Massachusetts, January 1, 1776, in asserting that it was "the duty of the United Colonies to form themselves into an Independent Constitution or Republick State" declared that the King is determined to pour in troops of Russians, Hanoverians and Irish Catholicks, which, if done, will be followed by much bloodshed, for we will be free or die. [*Am. Ar.*, 4-4, 529.]

ARMING ROMAN CATHOLICS AGAINST AMERICANS.

Richard Henry Lee, delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress, wrote General Washington, then at Cambridge, Mass., on November 13, 1775, enclosing copy of a letter brought by a ship lately arrived from London "from a well informed, sensible friend and may be relied on."

The letter, dated September 4, 1775, said: "Our Ministry are up with you. They are arming every hand. Protestant and Catholick. English, Irish, Scotch, Hanoverian, Hessian, Indian and Canadian against the devoted Colonies. Arming Roman Catholicks is directly contrary to law; but they expect every protection from the politeness of Parliament." [*Am. Ar.*, 4-3, 1543.]

BURNABY'S BALDERDASH.

Rev. Andrew Burnaby traveled in America before the Revolution. Published his *Travels* on his return to England. On 9th April, 1778, he wrote to Washington deprecating the "civil war" existing between "parent and child," asserting that the union existing between the Colonies would not "be permanent when they are totally independent," that France was not in "reality a well wisher to America and would oppose reconciliation so as to weaken both America and England," that the French were a "false and treacherous people; that the interests of Great Britain and America were the same, the same lineage, same language, the same liberty, the same religion connecting them; but that of America and France is diametrically opposite, absolutely irreconcilable." [Spark's *Corres. Rev.,* II, p. 101.]

"DARE NOT SHOW THEMSELVES."

John Adams, writing to James Warren from Braintree, March 15, 1775, said: "We have a few Jacobites and Roman Catholics in this town but they dare not show themselves." [*Life and Works of John Adams,* Vol. IX, p. 355.]

John Adams, who declared "Catholic Christianity" was "Cabalistic Christianity" [*Works,* Vol. X, p. 100], asked Thomas Jefferson, "Can a free Government possibly exist with the Roman Catholic Religion." [*Works,* Vol. X, p. 398.]

"SET WIDE FOR POPERY THE DOOR."

In *McFingal,* an epic poem, by John Trumbull, Aide to Washington, it is said England

> "Struck bargains with the Romish Churches
> Infallibility to purchase;
> Set wide for Popery the door,
> Made friends with Babel's scarlet whore."

THE PRIME CAUSE.

Hon. Mellen Chamberlain in an Address before the Webster Historical Society in Boston, January 18, 1884, on "John Adams, the Statesman of the American Revolution," said: "Perhaps the prime cause, without which the Revolution would never have begun when it did and where it did was ecclesiastical rather than political."

GENERAL MONTGOMERY, THE JESUIT FATHER FLOQUET AND THE PRIESTS OF MONTREAL.

General Montgomery writing from Montreal, November 15, 1775, to General Schuyler, said:

I have made the inhabitants acquainted with the views of Congress relative to this Province, declaring I should call a convention upon my return from Quebeck. I have had some conversation with Pere Flacquet [Floquet], a Jesuit at the head of the society here and esteemed a very sensible fellow. He complained of some little indignities shown their order, particularly in making part of their house the common prison, by His Majesty's Governours. I promised redress and hinted, at the same time, the great probability of that Society enjoying their estate, notwithstanding Sir Jeffery Amherst's pretensions should this Province accede to the general union. I hope this hint may be of service; the Priests hitherto having done us all the mischief in their power; in many parishes they will not yet give the people absolution. However, I have shown all the respect in my power to religion, and have winked at this behaviour in the Priests for fear of having malice to handle. [*Amer. Arch.*, 4.3, p. 1683.]

"OPPORTUNITY FOR POPERY."

The Earl of Carlisle in advising William Eden, one of the "Peace" Commissioners sent to America, in 1778, to secure reconciliation with the Revolted Colonies, wrote him, September 20, 1778, "whether it will not be proper to urge as strongly as possible the disappointments America will undergo thro" connection with France and "the opportunity she will give to the introduction of the Popish religion." [Stevens' *Facsimiles of Documents*, Vol. V, No. 529.]

FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

"To obtain Religious, as well as Civil Liberty, I entered zealously into the Revolution. God grant that this Religious Liberty may be preserved in these States to the end of time." [*Charles Carroll of Carrollton.*]

The above is one of the inscriptions on the Centennial Fountain of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, erected in 1876.

CONGRESS AND GEORGE III AGREE ON "POPERY."

In a long "Address to the Soldiers of Massachusetts Bay who are now in Arms against the Laws of their Country," signed Q. Z., and issued in 1775, it is said:

Your leaders tell you your properties and religion are at stake. Your ministers tell you so too, and I know you are too apt to take all that they say for gospel. But, pray, what danger is your religion in? Why it is said that Popery is established in Canada, and will be established here. No. My Countrymen, Popery is not established in Canada, let your teachers and leaders assert it never so roundly; it is only indulged to the Roman Catholicks there. Your Continental Congress says, that God and nature have given them a right to the enjoyment of their religion; it is what they capitulated for with General Amherst; it is what the just, the humane King George the Third confirmed to them. [*Am. Ar.*, 4th Series, III, 1749.]

"A DREADFUL DAY."

Rev. Dan'l Barber in his *History of My Own Times,* relates that the last time he saw his grandfather was "a little before the Revolutionary War," when "he said some serious things to me about religion; mentioned his fears lest the King of England, George the Third, had a design to make the Catholic the established religion of this country; said he should not live to see the day, as I might do; and, as it would be a dreadful day to us, he charged me to stand fast, and remain sound in the faith."

Yet he and his family became Catholics, he and a son became priests.

HATED POPES AND BISHOPS.

Sam Adams "hated Kings but most of all Popes and Bishops." He was the unrivalled politician of the Revolution. Without him it would never have occurred when it did nor as it did. In this work Samuel Adams was the foremost and greatest man.

Sam Adams represented the Puritan element in the contest in Massachusetts. To him the Revolution was the last in a series of events reaching back thro' 100 years to resist the imposition of the Anglican hierarchy on the descendants of the Puritans. His inspiration was Religious. [Chamberlain's *John Adams,* p. 61.]

ABBÉ MABLY.

The Abbé de Mably at the age of seventy-three entertained the design of writing a history of the American Revolution. He applied to John Adams for information. Adams enumerated many sources. He closed by stating, "this is a work of the longest life beginning at the age of twenty." The Abbé died three years later without making an effort at the work.

"PATRIOT MUST BE RELIGIOUS."

"Statesmen may plan and speculate for Liberty but it is Religion and Morality alone which can establish the principles upon which Freedom can securely stand." So John Adams said. "A true patriot must be a religious man," he wrote his wife November 5, 1775.

FRENCH TO KEEP ALL.

New York, August 2, 1780.

The French Admiral has taken possession of Rhode Island in the name of the King of France, and displayed the French colors, without the least deference to the flag of their ally, the revolted Americans, evincing that their Roman Catholic friends intend to keep possession of all they seize on in North America. [*Royal Gazette,* August 2, 1780.]

"WHAT GOD WROUGHT."

"That this puissant Prince [King Louis XVI] should deign to take notice of America in her infantile state when under the iron rod of oppression and declared to be in a state of actual rebellion—that he should then conclude a treaty of alliance and trade with us, upon the most honorable and generous principles, without taking the least advantage of our weakness, but rather nobly aiming to afford us relief in our time of distress, was in very deed amazing to us, alarming to Britain and surprising to the world. If this event was not indicative of the benevolence of that munificent King's heart it was no less a token of favour from the Great King of Kings." [Sermon: *What hath God Wrought?* By Rev. O. Hart, Hopewell, N. J., Nov. 26, 1781.]

PILLAGED THE PRIESTS.

"During the late war the British cruisers landed often at and hovered almost continually near the plantations of the clergy; they pillaged their houses; they drove and slaughtered their sheep and cattle." [*Rev. Jno. Carroll,* 1788.]

"THE PAPAL NUNCIO."

Captain Johann Heinricks of Hessian Jager Corps, writing to his brother-in-law, August 29, 1778, from "In the Camp near Spit of the Devil," New York, said: "But what do you think? The two persons whom D'Estaing secretly took on board his vessel are said to be a Praetendent and a Papal Nuncio. Both are said to be in Philadelphia now, and chapels are already being designed there and in Boston. This is rather a peculiar condition affording much material for gossip, but I cannot vouch for the rumour, owing to lack of time, and the doubtful authenticity of the report." [*Pa. Mag.,* 1898, p. 152.]

WASHINGTON "THE ATLAS OF AMERICA."

A French officer who returned to France in 1779 reports: "Let the political antipathies of individuals and the squabbles between state and state be what they may, General Washington is the Atlas of America and the god of the army. His authority is mild and paternal. He is probably the only man who could have effected a revolution. This great man has only one defect, very creditable to him—too much integrity for a party leader." [*Mag. Am. His.,* Nov., 1889.]

"SOUND AND STRONG."

What advantage to have freed these colonies, what advantage to have pitched the tea into the harbor, unless the republic which was freed from dependence by these brave arms, is built upon a solid foundation, upon a basis that will stand the strain and stress of storm and wind. It is vain for us to be freed from the hand and power of the oppressor, it is vain to break the shackles that bind the nation if there is an internal principle of decay and internal principle of dissolution. Unless the life of the nation be sound and strong it will soon die and sink into the tomb. [*Rev. John H. O'Rourke, S.J.,* at Boston Diocese Centenary, Oct. 31, 1908.]

"A REFUGEE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAMILY."

Moore's Diary of Revolution Vol. I, p. 33. Governor Colden and his wretched Council by a majority voted not to obey the General Congress resolution, but to protest against and oppose all the continent of America, who are making so noble a stand in defence of their liberty, while the people wish to do the same. But they are unhappily in the hands of dependent place men, contractors, informers, a refugee Roman Catholic family, and others, veriest reptiles on earth. New York, therefore is the only colony on which the British junto must rely to enslave America.

What was the name of this "refugee Roman Catholic family" of such public influence in New York City in 1775?

COLONISTS HATE THE FRENCH AND THEIR RELIGION.

Lafayette's greatest service was in bringing France and America together. The Americans had been accustomed to look on France as the enemy of their country and their religion. They hated her and they feared her. They believed that her accursed priests were stirring up the Indians to ravage the frontiers and that her crafty governors were drawing a chain of posts down the Mississippi Valley to confine the English to the seaboard. The French themselves they despised as an inferior race. [Hatch's *Adm. Rev. Army*, p. 60.]

CANADIANS READY TO JOIN AMERICANS.

Benedict Arnold wrote to Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, on June 13, 1775, from Crown Point, saying:

"Great numbers of the Canadians have expected us at Montreal for some time and are impatient at our delay, being determined to join us whenever we appear with a sufficient force to support them. This I am confirmed in by many of the Canadians themselves, having just returned from an excursion down the Lake, where I saw numbers of them, who offered to join us. Governor Carleton has been able by every artifice to raise no more than twenty Canadians of the noblese, who are in expectation of places of profit or honor." [*Am. Ar.*, 4 S., 2d Vol., p. 978.]

REJOICING AND THANKSGIVING.

The morning following the surrender at Yorktown, Washington, in General Orders, congratulated the combined armies on the success their bravery achieved. He added: "Divine service will be performed to-morrow in the several brigades and divisions," and recommended that the soldiers should attend, "with that seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence demand of us." Such was the tone of feeling that pervaded the whole land; it burst forth from the household, from the pulpit, from the press. When Congress received the news, it proceeded in a body to a church, and there publicly offered thanks to Almighty God "for the special favor He had manifested to their struggling country." They also appointed a day of National Thanksgiving and prayer, "in acknowledgment of the signal interposition of Divine Providence."

The Congress voted thanks to Washington and to Counts de Rochambeau and to de Grasse and the officers and soldiers of both armies. It likewise passed resolutions to erect a monumental column at Yorktown in commemoration of the union of the American and French armies, and of the victory they had achieved. [*Mag. Am. His.*, Oct., 1881, p. 265.]

"POPISH CLERGY."

"The legal privileges which the Roman Catholic clergy of Canada enjoyed, made them averse to a change, lest they should be endangered, by a more intimate connection with their Protestant neighbours.

"They used their supposed influence in the next world; as an engine to operate on the movements of the present.

"They refused absolution to such of their flocks as abetted the Americans.

"General Montgomery knew the part the popish clergy had acted, in opposition to him, yet he conducted towards them, as if totally ignorant of the matter; and treated them and their religion with great respect and attention.

"As far as he was authorized to promise, he engaged that their ecclesiastical property should be secured and the free exercise of their religion continued." [Ramsay's *His. Rev.*, II, p. 58.]

CANADIANS—QUEBEC ACT.

Another document put forth by the Continental Congress was "The Address to the People of Great Britain." It claimed for the Americans all the privileges of British subjects, the right of disposing of their own property and of ruling themselves. Why should "English subjects who live three thousand miles away from the royal palace enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles from it." Like all the other documents, it had much to say about the wickedness of the Quebec Act, which had established Roman Catholicism in Canada; and it argued over again all this old ground.

The only striking part of it was an argument that if the ministry were allowed to tax and rule America, as they pleased, the enormous streams of wealth to be gathered from such a vast continent, together with the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Canada, would be used to inflict some terrible and vague persecution and tyranny on the masses of the people in England.

Another document, called "An Address to the Inhabitants of Canada" was much ridiculed by both the loyalists and the English, because it was so absurdly inconsistent with "The Address to the People of Great Britain." In addressing the people of England the Congress had vilified and abused the religion of the Canadians as despotism, murder, persecution and rebellion. Yet they asked those same Canadians to join the rebellious colonies against England; and they sent them a long document patronizing and instructing them in their rights, and quoting Montesquieu and other Frenchmen, to show what a mistake they were making by submitting to the tyranny of Great Britain. The Canadians would, of course, see both documents and laugh at the Congress. [Fisher's *True His. Rev.*, p. 194.]

The inconsistency of asking in one document for a repeal of the Quebec Act, because it established in Canada the bigotry and ignorance of the Roman Catholic religion, mingled with the absurd customs of Paris, and in another document appealing to these same French Roman Catholics, in flattering phrases, to join the Congress at Philadelphia, was quickly seen and formed one of the stock jokes at every Tory gathering.

"They complain of transubstantiation in Canada," said Dean Tucker, "but they have no objection to their own kind of transub-

stantiation, by which they turn bits of paper, worth nothing at all, into legal tender for the payment of debts to British merchants." [*Ibid,* p. 207.]

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON FOR "RECONCILIATION."

In March, 1779, Samuel Chase, one of Maryland's Delegates in Congress, was summoned before the Maryland Senate to give information respecting an alleged statement of his, "There were Tories in the Senate," which he denied saying. In the course of his written declaration he stated: "In December, 1776, the day before Congress left Philadelphia I was informed by several members of Congress that Mr. Carroll had declared that he would not have come as a Delegate but to bring about a Reconciliation [with England]. This Mr. Carroll admitted and said it was his sentiment and justified by the Instructions from his State. I also mentioned that on the same day I was informed by several Members of Congress that either Mr. Carroll or Mr. Tilghman or Both had proposed to them in the Congress Room 'To send Commissioners to General Howe to ask for Terms.' Mr. Carroll said he did not remember he ever made such proposals. Mr. Tilghman said he never did." [*Am. His. Rec.,* III, 88.]

CATHOLICS AND THE REVOLUTION.

In *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier,* by Leverance, p. 99, it is related: "In the Summer of 1778 sailors on the snow *Seneca* at Niagara asked to be discharged, alleging that their time had expired the preceding November and they had 'no opportunity of exercising our Religion, neither does confinement agree with our health.'"

They were, without doubt, French Canadian Catholics.

"POPISH ALLIES."

Rivington's *Royal Gazette,* New York, January 16, 1779, had Lines sent from Long Island, presented as a New Year's Gift to those Loyal Ladies of New York who are uniting to equip a formidable Privateer to be called the "Fair American;" for the very laudable purpose of cruizing against the detested Rebel Corsairs and their new Popish Allies, the base perfidious French.

CANADIAN "REBELS."

In Congress, August 30, 1776:

The Committee appointed to enquire into the claims of sundry Canadians report that there is due,

To Andrew Pepin, for two months' services, as Captain and six months' services as Lieutenant, together with rations during the time of said services, the sum of 201 and 1/3 dollars.

To James Pelieur, for five months' services, as a private and three months' services as a Lieutenant, together with one ration a day during the said three months, the sum of 99 1/3 dollars.

CATHOLICS GOOD CITIZENS.

On January 1, 1795, the United States House of Representatives proceeded to the consideration of a Naturalization Bill. An amendment was offered requiring a renunciation of all foreign titles. Samuel Dexter, Jr., of Massachusetts, said, "While not very anxious against the resolution, he was yet opposed to it." He imagined that by the same mode of reasoning we might hinder His Holiness the Pope from coming to this country. He entered at some length into the ridicule of certain tenets of the Roman Catholic Religion and said that priest-craft had done more mischief than aristocracy.

Mr. James Madison in reply said he did not approve the ridicule attempted to be thrown out on Roman Catholics. In their religion was nothing inconsistent with the purest republicanism. In Switzerland about one-half of the Cantons were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Some of Democratic Cantons were so. Americans had no right to ridicule Catholics; they had, many of them, proved good citizens during the Revolutionary War. [*Debates Congress,* Vol. I.]

WASHINGTON'S "ONE OBJECTION."

When in 1778 it was proposed to invade Canada, Washington said he had one objection to it "which is in my estimation insurmountable and alarms all my feelings for the true and permanent interest of my country. That is the introduction of French troops into Canada, should they declare an intention to hold Canada as a pledge and surety for the debts due to France from United States." [*The Monthly Magazine and American Review,* N. Y., 1800, p. 283.]

PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

Wright, Thomas. English dissenting divine. *a. l. s.* 4to, 3 pages. Bristol, May 30, 1783. To Rev. Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College. Interesting letter, expressing his satisfaction in the result of the Revolutionary War, etc.

"Various circumstances relating to the time when the late difference between G. Britain and America arose, and to the state and qualities of the people on both sides the water, might be traced out, which contributed in a natural view and as second causes towards accomplishing the great and glorious revolution that has taken place. But the providence of God in many events and measures is more conspicuous to the discerning eye. . . . Some of us ardently desired your success, as brethren and the champions of liberty. Of this number were the generality of Protestant dissenters of all denominations." [Original in Rutter Sale by Henkels, May 19, 1905.]

POPERY AND ARBITRARY POWER.

In 1775 the Parliament convened unusually early because of the "revolt, hostility and rebellion" of the Americans. Lord Mayor John Wilkes had started an agitation that was troublous in the beginning and developed into turbulence the longer it was maintained. He drafted petitions to the King which abounded with inflammatory arguments and with phrases that bordered on sedition; which perceived a real design to establish autocratic authority over all America and to uproot and destroy the Constitution. Upon receiving an unsatisfactory reply from the King, Wilkes clamored for the impeachment of the evil counsellors who had planted Popery and arbitrary power in America. [*Papers of Clinton,* VII, p. 5—*note.*]

"ESTABLISHMENT OF POPERY."

The New York Association in an Address to Lieut.-Governor Colden, May 11, 1775, declared that they regard the hostile blockade of the Port of Boston, . . . the extension of the Bounds of Quebec, the establishment of Popery and an arbitrary form of government in that province as so many steps of an ill judging administration that more eminently endangers the liberty and prosperity of the whole Empire. [*N. Y. Col. Doc.,* VIII, p. 584.]

A SOLEMN WARNING.

"A Solemn Warning" by the Associated Presbytery (of Scotch Presbyterians or Seceders) in Pennsylvania, issued May 8, 1777, because "of the deplorable state of matters in this and neighboring States" said "a great contempt is poured upon the great doctrines of the Gospel which broke forth with eminent lustre at the reformation from Popery; these blessed doctrines whereby the consciences of men were led to a sweet rest which they had sought in vain from Masses, Indulgences, Pilgrimages, Penances and Purgatory. We retain the name of Protestants while the marrow and substance of the Protestant religion is generally discarded."

CHURCH AND PEOPLE.

Under date of June 3, 1779, Rev. Enos Hitchcock, Chaplain, records:

"It is the prevailing opinion that an attack will be brought on to-morrow morning very early—with this expectation I desire to commit the cause to that God who rules over all & is able by the smallest exertion to vindicate an injured people; & who I trust will make bare his arm for our help—& shew the enemies of our land & liberties, that the events of war are in his own hand; & therefore that no weapon formed against his Church & people shall ever prosper." [*Publications of R. I. Historical Society,* Oct., 1899, p. 175.]

"His Church" being the Protestant Church.

THE COLONIES PROTESTANT.

"To man who has considered with attention perhaps it will not appear too bold to aver if an Archangel had planned the connection between Great Britain and her colonies he could not have fixed on a more lasting and beneficial foundation, unless he could have changed human nature. A mighty naval power at the head of the whole, that power a parent state, with all the endearing sentiments attending the relationship . . . she and all those States Protestant are some of the circumstances that delineated by the masterly hand of a Beccario would exhibit a plan, vindicating the ways of heaven and demonstrating that humanity and policy are nearly related." [Jekell in *Penna. Ledger,* Feb. 11, 1775.]

The article contested the claims of Great Britain.

"ESTABLISHING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION."

In the Petition to the King sent by the first Continental Congress, October, 1774, the Acts protested against were: (1) "Blocking up the Harbour of Boston; (2) Empowering the Governor of Massachusetts to send indicted murderers to another Colony or to Great Britain to be tried; (3) Altering the charter of Massachusetts; (4) Extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman Catholic religion throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northern boundaries of the free Protestant English settlements; (5) Providing quarters for officers and soldiers in His Majesty's service."

The Petition also declared that the King's ancestors were "seated on the British throne to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the Popery and Despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant."

CANADIAN "REBELS" PUNISHED.

In *Revolutionary Letters* of the Hessian Officers in the service of Great Britain compiled by William L. Stone, page 24, is a letter from Canada by a German staff officer which says: "If a parish contains a number of rebellious inhabitants, their cattle are forfeited, the fire is extinguished and the roof of the houses pulled down. . . . A number of houses belonging to these rebels who are at present in the army of the enemy will probably share the same fate within a short time."

The Curés are good royalists (p. 66).

Eight Canadians forced to do penance (p. 67).

Henry's *Journal of Expeditions to Canada Under Arnold* says, "Every now and then a chapel came in sight; but more frequently the rude but pious imitations of the sufferings of our Saviour and the image of the Virgin." [*Me. His. Col.,* Vol. I, p. 516.]

PORTUGAL.

The King of Portugal, July 4, 1776, closed all ports to American ships. Franklin, from Paris, April 26, 1777, remonstrated against this action. [See *Franklin Works,* Bigelow Ed., Vol. VI, p. 91-2-3.]

PROTESTANT HALL.

March 18, 1774, being the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, was celebrated at the home of Abraham De La Montagnie, New York, and at Mr. David Grim's by the German Protestants of New York and by other gentlemen at Protestant Hall on Long Island. [*Pa. Journal,* March 30, 1774.]

FATHER RIGNATZ, CHAPLAIN OF A FRENCH REGIMENT.

In the *Autobiography of a Bavarian Immigrant* Dr. Christian Boerstler, who on 24th May, 1784, left Bavaria for America, relates:

"Being a scholl teacher I had more freedom than the other subjects of Bavaria, and by paying one-tenth of my possessions could move where I pleased, while the other people had to pay a twentieth of their possessions and were only allowed to move from one state to another, but not to emigrate to America. The reason for this was that all our princes, emperors, etc., had become Catholics and as the British ruled in America and made every arrival in the new world throw his allegiance to the Pope overboard, they hated them bitterly and permitted no one to go there, although they themselves did not live up to the Catholic religion."

After getting to Rotterdam he relates:

"After fourteen days we started on our journey. We stopped at Giltfurth to take in water. Here a young Catholic Priest, by name Rignatz, a born Würzburger, boarded our ship. He had been in America as clergyman of one of the French regiments and was on his way back. He was a brave, intelligent and nice looking man, and while crossing the ocean I enjoyed his company very much. He asked permission to use my books, which I readily granted, and on Sunday he held church for us." [*Journal of Am. His.,* II, No. 3, 458-61.]

All arrived at Baltimore 22d September, 1784. The "priest by name Rignatz" is unknown to us. It is a new name in Catholic American annals. His name does not appear as Chaplain of any of the French regiments, the roster of whose officers is available.

CATHOLIC REVOLUTIONARY NOTES

"MAKES OUR BLOOD RUN QUICKLY."

When we read the history of the original thirteen colonies our blood runs quickly. We love to contemplate that rugged race which made so many sacrifices, endured so glorious a struggle for liberty and planted it so deeply in the soil of this continent that we may well bespeak for it immortality. [Bishop McFaul.]

"HALTERS AROUND THEIR NECKS."

1776, Dec. 31. *Te Deum* at Quebec for defeat of Montgomery a year before. Services in the Cathedral by the Bishop, and eight Canadians had to do open penance with halters around their necks and beg pardon of God, the Church and King George for having helped the Americans. [Lowell's *Hessians,* p. 124-5.]

THE UNITED STATES SEEKS A LOAN FROM TUSCANY.

Ralph Izard, of South Carolina, was appointed by the Continental Congress September, 1777, as Commissioner to Tuscany. Its grand duke the year before made overtures to Silas Dean, Commissioner of France, indicating a willingness to grant certain privileges to American Commerce.

On his arrival at Paris, Mr. Izard met Abbe Niccoli, the Tuscan Minister to France. He considered that his government might be blamed if it permitted a loan to be opened for the United States. The Abbe advised that a loan be sought from the Genoese, and Vergennes, the French Minister, be interviewed with the prospect of advising Louis XVI to guarantee the repayment of the loan. But Vergennes gave no encouragement to the loan. Nothing more seems to have been done in the matter. [*Mag. Am. His.,* Jan., 1890.]

ILL TREATMENT OF CANADIAN OFFICERS.

Congress had ordered two regiments to be raised in Canada; but the second of these became very much reduced and it was strengthened by admitting Americans. Many of the officers, however, were Canadians, and, when the army was driven out of Canada, they found themselves exiles, dependent for their support and that of their families on the pay they received from the United States, yet some of their American brothers-in-arms were so lost to a sense of humanity as to try to drive these unfortunates from the service. It is said that Canadian officers were repeatedly court-martialed on false or frivolous charges, and, although honorably acquitted, were accused again and again until at last they were forced out of the army [Hatch's *Administration Rev. Army,* p. 52.]

DR. RUSH ON "POPERY" AND "PROTESTANT PRINCIPLES."

Before the minutes of the meeting on December 17, 1774, of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the Secretaries, wrote: "The Acts of the British Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston, for altering the charters, and for the more impartial administration of justice in the province of Massachusetts Bay, together with the bill for establishing Popery and arbitrary powers in Quebec, having alarmed the whole of the American Colonies, the members of the Philosophical Society, partaking with their countrymen in the distress, and labours brought upon their country, were obliged to discontinue their meetings for some months, until a mode of opposition to the said Acts of Parliament was established, which they hope will restore the former harmony, and maintain a perpetual union between Great Britain and the American Colonies."

Dr. Rush became a Signer of the Declaration of Independence. When, in 1779, invited to attend the Memorial Requiem Mass at St. Mary's for Don Juan de Mirralles who had died at Washington's Camp at Morristown, Dr. Rush wrote on the back of the invitation, "Declined attending as not compatible with the principles of a Protestant."

That card is among his manuscripts in the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library.

"BIGOTRY AND IGNORANCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION."

When the Resolves of the first Continental Congress of 1774 reached England the Tories received them with "outbursts of indignation and ridicule," as they "saw Independence in every line."

"The inconsistency of asking in one document for a repeal of the Quebec Act, because it established in Canada the bigotry and ignorance of the Roman Catholic religion, mingled with the absurd customs of Paris, and in another document appealing to these same French Catholics, in flattering phrases, to join the Congress at Philadelphia, was quickly seen, and formed one of the stock jokes at every Tory gathering."

"They complain of Transubstantiation in Canada," said Dean Tucker, "but they have no objection to their own kind of transubstantiation, by which they turn bits of paper, worth nothing at all, into legal tender for the payment of debts to British merchants." [Fisher's *True Hist. Rev.*, p. 207.]

When our army was in Canada "it is probable that many of them, especially the New England troops, found it difficult to conceal their contempt for the Canadian religion." [*Ibid*, 287.]

GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY THANKS FATHER GIBAULT.

In the Instructions of Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia to Colonel George Rogers Clark when proceeding on expedition to capture the Western territory for Virginia he stated, December 15, 1778:

I send you herewith some copies of the Act of Government and Bill of Rights together with the French Alliance. These will serve to show our new friends the grounds upon which they are to stand and the support to be expected from their countrymen of France. Equal liberty are the objects to a participation of which we write them. Upon a fair presumption that the people about Detroit have similar inclinations with those at Illinois and Wabash, I think it possible that they may be brought to expell their British masters and become citizens of a free State. I recommend this to your serious consideration and to consult with some confidential persons on the subject. Perhaps Mr. Gibault, the Priest (to whom this country owes many thanks for his zeal and services), may promote this affair. [*Ill. His. Col., V*, p. 62, from *Va. State Arch.*]

FAITH IN HUMAN KIND.

The heritage of this nation is most precious, and its title is not clouded. If, perhaps, some who conceived it and struggled for it were not unselfish, never in the world's history were so many of the founders of any nation so patriotic, statesmanlike and self-sacrificing. Even had they failed to carry out their noble design, they would have left to mankind an ideal well worth all their devotion. They succeeded, not indeed in giving to the country the full measure of liberty and the keen sense of justice which they sought to give, but in releasing it from oppression and in establishing a standard of respect for rights both human and divine. Their ideals were so high and so pure that in other nations they were regarded, and often sneered at, as Utopian; but their motives were never questioned. Patiently and laboriously they worked out their designs, resigning in due time their places to men in whom they had faith to continue their plans. After freeing a people from oppression from without, they had to strengthen it against new invasions, and they had to face the harder task of preventing oppression from within. They never underrated the difficulties of their trust, they never expected that a few years would suffice to infuse a right spirit of liberty and of justice into the hearts of millions who had become inured to servility and injustice; they knew the history of human tyranny and the tendency of man to oppress and grind his fellow-man, and though they foresaw the ever recurring possibility of such oppression in the nation they were upbuilding, they did not lose faith in the ultimate triumph of their ideal. Time has justified and rewarded that faith. Beyond even their loftiest conception the nation has been a foe to slavery in every sphere. The founders of the nation thought only of freedom and equal rights for their own race; they did not apply their principles to the race whom they themselves held bound in slavery. Their childrens' children have worked out the problem of freedom for this fettered people. The fathers never realized that America would become the refuge for the down-trodden of the earth. Perhaps many of them would have had misgivings of the people's power to imbue the millions of strangers with a right spirit of liberty. The sons have never hesitated. Like the fathers they have faith in human nature to use with proper restraint the God-given liberty of our soil. [*America.*]

DESCRIPTION OF CATHOLIC CEREMONIES BY A PRIVATE OF THE AMERICAN ARMY IN CANADA UNDER ARNOLD IN 1776.

In *The Journal of James Melvin,* Private Soldier in Arnold's Expedition Against Quebec in the year 1775, it is related that when a prisoner in Quebec and in the hospital suffering with the smallpox, on January 18th, 1776, "A Frenchman being at the point of death, the Nuns came in and read over him, afterwards the priest came in, then they fetched in a table covered with a white cloth and lighted two wax candles about three feet long and set them on the table. The priest put on a white robe over his other garments and the Nuns kneeled down and the priest stood and read a sentence, and then the Nuns a sentence and so they went on some time; then the priest prayed by himself; then the Nuns and then the priest again; then they read together a spell, and finally the priest alone; then the priest stroked the man's face and then they took away the candles and table, &c., and the man died. [P. 67.]

On the 21st Edward Kavanaugh and Timothy Connor of Arnold's army who had enlisted in the British Service to escape being sent to England and tried for Treason, made their escape by knocking down their companion sentinel, leaping from the wall 30 feet high into the snow. They were fired at but escaped.

Under date of July 27, 1776, Melvin records:

This day we saw the French priest going to visit a sick person. He was attended by about twenty people as follows: First a man goes ringing a little hand bell, then two men or boys carrying two lanthorns, with lighted candles on poles, about ten feet long; then comes the priest under a canopy, supported by two men; it is like the teaster of a bed. The priest is dressed in white linen robes over his black clothes, and things as heavy as boards tied to his knees, and hanging dangling and knocking against his shins. They have crosses on these two things. After the priest, follow the friends and children of the sick person and any others that happen to be going that way who think they are doing good to join in with the rest. Every one that hears the bell is obliged to kneel down while they pass by. The priest has a great cross upon his breast, and a string of wooden beads hanging by his side. The people all have these beads when they go to church, to help them remember their prayers. They also use the same ceremony when they go a burying and have choristers singing before the corpse. [P. 82.]

The Introduction to *Melvin's Journal* says: "No better rule for the writing of history has ever been laid down or one that would be better worth adopting by historians, with their best efforts to strictly follow, than that one which was enunciated, not very long ago, by our venerated pontiff, Leo XIII, relative to some proposed publication from the Vatican. Had this excellent rule been always followed in the past, the world might possibly have been spared some volumes long accepted as history."

The Editor THE RESEARCHES is referred to as "judicially" assigning causes for the "unaccountable events in which the history of our Revolutionary period abounds." Mr. Griffin, of Philadelphia, whose opinion as a student of the period is entitled to some respect, as regarding hostility to the Catholic religion as not only unquestionably one of the causes of the American Revolution but the chief cause." [P. 19.]

MOST REBELLIOUS.

In 1784 J. F. D. Smith published in London *A Tour in the United States.* He had been a Captain in the British service during the Revolutionary War. In relating about Maryland and its Catholic inhabitants he said:

"By far the greatest number of Roman Catholics are on the Western Shore, and what is very surprising it was also the most violently rebellious and disaffected." [Vol. II, p. 184.]

FATHER ST. DE PIERRE, FRENCH ARMY CHAPLAIN.

Though called St. Pierre his name "in true German was Heiligenstein." After the War he was sent West by Father John Carroll and stationed at St. Genevieve (now Missouri). On February 18, 1786, he wrote Father Payet at Detroit:

"I was well off in France. By order of the Most Christian King I traveled the 13 Provinces where I acted in the capacity of camp Chaplain of the French army. After the war the French Minister resident at Philadelphia insisted so much that I come hither that I was not able to refuse what he asked. But truly when I find the entire region so changed and filled with the worst of men, who fear neither God nor the Law, I am altogether determined to leave it on the first opportunity." [*Quebec Arch.; Ill. His. Col.*, V. pp. 531 and 534.]

THE VATICAN ARCHIVES HAS AMERICAN REVOLUTION RECORDS.

Professor Carl Russell Fish, of the University of Wisconsin, who engaged in an examination of the Vatican archives for documents bearing on the history of the United States found a mine of information in Church, Government and private libraries, which threw many interesting sidelights on the colonial and revolutionary periods.

It will be recalled that some years ago Leo XIII threw open the Vatican archives to the scholars of the world, who have drawn freely from the wonderful collection of manuscripts, maps, etc., which have been carefully arranged and classified. Many of the valuable manuscripts have been photographed and copies sent to the leading libraries of the world.

In the course of a recent interview Professor Fish said:

"The records in Rome touch our history all through its earlier days from the Bull of the Pope, which divided America between Spain and Portugal. Always the Church has had a parental interest in America. The historical material that I found was unique.

"The Vatican archives are open to any accredited student, women included. The students there are scholars—mature men—and about half are ecclesiastics. I found there not only Italians, but French, English, Bohemians, Austrian, Hungarian, Russian, South American, Mexican and Japanese students. The religious affiliation of the student makes no difference in the facilities given him. Leo XIII opened the Church archives, holding to the principle that the Church cannot suffer from investigation. I am referring now to the central archives. There are other archives in Rome pertaining to the department of the government and those of the monastic orders, and special permission must be obtained to get to these. Some diplomacy is useful to get at them, but they were very largely open to me.

"Then there are the archives of the propaganda. America was from the first regarded as missionary ground and the propaganda was a missionary organization. I was extended much courtesy in that quarter also.

"It was interesting to see the side light on the American Revolution given by the archives of the various Italian states—Naples, Sardinia, Tuscany the Papal states. All incidentally mentioned Dr. Benjamin Franklin and invariably in a way to show that

he was highly thought of and that information coming from him was regarded as unquestionable. The tenor of the casual illusions was most friendly. The sympathies of the Italian states and some of the statesmen were English, or American, or French, according to national or individual feelings. Naples was favorable to England, and the other states generally to France.

"I was much interested in the diary kept by a Cardinal, who was evidently strongly favorable to and interested in the American colonists' cause. He had preserved copies of proclamations and voluminous records of the news of the struggle.

"I found, too, records of the negotiations regarding establishing the new status of Roman Catholics in America after the Revolution had made it possible that they continue subordinate to the prefect in London. Dr. Franklin had a part in this and, evidently, from his pro-French views, favored bringing American Catholics under a French bishop. Ultimately, however, it was decided that an American diocese be created."

LIBERTY A BLESSING AND A RIGHT.

"The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings,* but also of their *rights.* While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society can with propriety demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion or modes of faith, which they may prefer or profess." [Washington to the Religious Society called Quakers at their yearly meeting for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the western part of Maryland and Virginia, October, 1789, in reply to an address.]

"NO SALIENT WRONG."

"July, 1771. Yet there was no one salient wrong to attract the sudden and universal attention of the people." [*Bancroft,* Vol. V, p. 406.]

That "salient wrong" against the Colonies came in 1774 when Parliament passed the Quebec Act, "Establishing," as the Colonists declared, "Popery in Canada." Then the guns came down and soon the fighting began.

JAMES LYNCH THE DOORKEEPER.

James Lynch was Doorkeeper of the first Continental Congress. He was paid £11 5 shillings for his services. [*Am. His. Record.* I, 273.]

Who was James Lynch? That's a Catholic name. I have not been able to discover anything else about him.

NOT A ROMAN CATHOLIC ALTAR IN BOSTON.

Bancroft, Vol. V, p. 241, Ed. 1857, relating the opposition of Boston to the arbitrary powers of the British Ministry—1768—says: "The great mass were Congregationalists. . . . There was not a Roman Catholic altar in the place; the usages of 'papists' were looked on as worn-out superstitions, fit only for the ignorant."

PRIEST HUNTER'S HOUSE.

On April 8th, 1781, Governor Lee, of Virginia, wrote Lafayette, "we have just received information from Col. Beall, Lieutenant of Prince George's County, that six of the enemy's ships have burnt Col. Barnes' house on St. Mary's River and plundered him of all his property and have burnt Priest Hunter's house at the mouth of Port Tobacco Creek." [*Scharf's His. Maryland,* Vol. II, p. 442.]

NO RELIGIOUS DISPUTE.

Gen. Nath. Greene to Society of Friends at New Garden, N. C., Mar. 26th, 1781, asking them to care for the wounded at Guilford C. H. "This is no religious dispute; the contest is for political liberty; without which cannot be enjoyed the free exercise of your religion." [*Am. Museum,* Sept., 1787, p. 214.]

"CHARLES CARROLL THE CATHOLIC."

Arthur Lee, Commissioner of the United States to France, writing from Paris, May 22, 1779, to Samuel Adams advising that "a man of sense, of honor, integrity and education may be found to represent you with dignity, . . . in many respects I should think Mr. Carroll, the Catholic, a fit man. What objections there may be to him I know not. . . ." He considered "the honor, the principles, the salvation of America" would not be endangered. [*Deane Papers,* III, 463.]

"NO SURER GROUND."

No surer ground work could be laid for the loss and destruction of our Colonies than to encourage the resort of Roman Catholick there. [*Pa. Gaz.*, July 17, 1755.]

This was twenty years before the fighting Revolution began.

BANISHMENT OF FRENCH PRIEST FROM CANADA.

The French Jesuits were upholders of the American cause. Hence the English authorities in Canada did not wish such to enter the country. They desired priests from Savoy or other places. In 1783 Gen. Haldimand wrote Lord North that he had sent two French priests back to France; that the Bishop desired recruits from the Seminaries in France; that he was under Jesuit influence; that he is honorable, but that the Jesuits have sided with the rebels. Superior Montgolfier was unwilling that the two priests should be returned, and was disappointed that Canada was not ceded to France at the close of the war. On June 24th, 1783, Haldimand wrote North that the two priests had been received on board by Capt. Marsh.

Here is a document concerning the return of another French priest:

QUEBEC, 4th August, 1783.

SIR:—Being desirous to send to Europe as soon as possible a French priest, who lately introduced himself in a clandestine manner into this Province, and having directed Lieut. Houghton of the 53d Reg't to take upon him the charge of that gentleman, I have to desire that you will receive him on board your ship, and that he may be treated in every respect with care and attention. Mr. Houghton has my instructions to defray all expenses that may attend his passage, and to set him at liberty in whatever Port you shall first make. The Priest will be delivered to you at the Island of Bic by one of my aide-de-camps, Capt. St. Ours.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) FRED. HALDIMAND.

Copy, 1783.

To LIEUT. LEAVER, Agent of Transports, August 4th.

Haldimand Papers, B. 67, Page 138.

PROMOTIONS OF FRENCH OFFICERS WHO SERVED IN AMERICA.

Extract of a letter from Paris, December 14, 1781:

"The Marquis de Ségur, Minister for the War Department, having lately been closeted with the King, it is presumed, that the promotion of General Officers is settled, but that his Majesty will not declare it until the end of the year. We, only, know at present that the first of the great Governments that shall be vacant is promised to Count de Rochambeau; that in the mean time his Majesty has granted him a pension of 30,000 Livres; that the King's Regiment of Dragoons, which the Marquis de la Fayette had, is given to the Viscount de Noailles; that the Chevalier de Chastellux has obtained, as a reward for his Campaign in America, the Government of Rochelle; that M. de Charlus, son of the Marquis de Castries, is appointed Mayor-General of the Gendarmerie. Marshal de Broglié has demanded of the King, as a reward of his services, that the Prince de Broglié, his son, might be sent to America to replace M. de Charlus; which being granted, he is to go over with the rank of Colonel-en-second; as is also the Viscount de Ségur, youngest son of the Minister of War."—*Newport Mercury*, July 6, 1782. D. K.

Newport, R. I. [*Mag. Am. History*, July, 1881, p. 62.]

ECCLESIASTICAL RATHER THAN POLITICAL.

Of the "vital elements of the Revolution perhaps the prime cause, without which the Revolution would never have begun when it did and where it did, was Ecclesiastical rather than political, beginning with the settlement of the colony of Mass. Bay and operating in unbroken succession and efficiency down to the commencement of hostilities." [Chamberlain's *John Adams the Statesman*, p. 13.]

PRIEST-RIDDEN.

"People have no security against being unmercifully priest-ridden but by keeping all imperious Bishops, and other clergymen who love to lord it over God's heritage from getting their feet in the stirrup at all." [Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, Boston, Jan. 30, 1750—Anniversary Execution Charles 1st.]

"THE FINISHING ACT."

Gurdon Saltonstall of Wethersfield, Conn., writing August 29, 1774, to Silas Deane, delegate in Congress from that Colony, stated:

"The Quebeck Act is the finishing stroke for the Ministry. That the Roman Catholic Religion is there established does not surprise me; you well know that it has been my opinion for many years, that was at the bottom of the Ministerial System; and that it should make its appearance at this Juncture is most fortunate for America and Great Britain also.

This will make Britons see, that the Acts to abridge American Liberty were preparatory to the alteration of the British Constitution at home and abroad, and therefore they will throw their interest into the American scale." [*Deane Papers,* I, 4.]

CANADIAN "REBELS" PUNISHED.

A letter from Canada written by a German staff officer of the Hessian forces sent by England stated: "If a parish contains a number of rebellious inhabitants their cattle are forfeited; the fire is extinguished on the hearth; and the roofs of the houses pulled down; . . . a number of houses belonging to those rebels who are at present in the army of the enemy will probably share the same fate within a short time." [Stones' *Revolutionary Letters,* p. 24.] ". . . The curés are good royalists." [P. 66.] "Eight Canadians forced to do penance." [P. 67.]

"THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION" OF 1688.

When, on September 12th, 1768, the inhabitants of Boston met in Town meeting to protest against Governor Bernard bringing troops they "appealed not to natural rights only but to the precedents of the revolution of 1688; to the conditions on which the House of Hanover received the throne." [Bancroft, *His. U. S.* Vol. V, p. 197, Ed. 1857.]

The Town following the precedent of 1688 proposed a Convention in Faneuil Hall. [P. 198.]

It was also voted by a very great majority that every one of the inhabitants should provide himself with fire arms and ammunition; and this vote was grounded partly on the prevailing rumor of a war with France, but more on the precedent of the Revolution of King William and Queen Mary. [Bancroft, V, p. 199.]

WERE "ONE-HALF IRISH?"

Our Catholic and Irish-American papers and orators continually declare that James Galloway, who had been Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, in testimony before a Committee of Parliament, after he had abandoned the Patriot cause, and been appointed by General Howe, Superintendent of Philadelphia during British occupation, that one-half of the army of Washington when at Valley Forge were Irish, when asked the composition of the "Rebel" army he replied:

I can answer the question with precision.—There were scarcely one-fourth natives of America, about one-half Irish; the other fourth were English and Scotch.

Q. Do you know anything of the army of the Rebels in general, how that is composed—of what country people?

A. I judge of that by the deserters that came in. [*Galloway's Examination,* p. 21-22.]

The deserters "were in a manner naked; they were not clothed fit for the inclemency of the season. Some of them had linen garments on and those very ragged and torn,—some without shoes, very few with whole breeches or stockings—in short they were objects of distress when they came down to me to be examined." [*Ibid,* p. 29.30.]

So Galloway simply "judged" the nationality of Washington's army "by the deserters" from it. His testimony, however, is sustained by Washington's declaration that the deserters were "especially" "not natives." To some extent both the Patriot and the Traitor are further sustained by the published rewards for the arrest of deserters.

Concerning the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line, Washington wrote Rochambeau on January 20th, 1781, saying: "The Line was mostly composed of foreigners, and having even some British deserters. The cause of complaint was 'the absolute want of pay and clothing—the great scarcity of provisions were too severe a trial for men, a great proportion of whom could not be deeply impressed with the feelings of citizens.' It is somewhat extraordinary, that these men, however lost to a sense of duty had so far retained that of honor, as to reject the most advantageous propositions from the enemy. The rest of our Army (the Jersey troops

excepted) being chiefly composed of natives, I would flatter myself, will continue to struggle under the same difficulties they have hitherto endured, which I cannot help remarking, seem to reach the bounds of human patience." [*Ford's Writings of Washington,* Vol. IX, p. 115.] Within a week "part of the Jersey Line" had also revolted. Washington at once sent troops and surrounded the mutineers and "executed on the spot two of the principals." So, except the Pennsylvania Line, "the rest of our army," said Rochambeau, was "chiefly composed of natives," and so would "continue to struggle under the same difficulties they have hitherto endured," and which seemed "to reach the bound of human patience." They certainly had that of Irish patience and also, within a week, that of the Jerseymen.

Lafayette writing to Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, said: "Some Pennsylvania troops, almost wholly composed of foreigners, and stationed at Morristown, New Jersey, had revolted," mentioning that troops "belonging to New Jersey showed the same spirit." He added: "The citizen soldiers are much more patient than the foreigners." [*Steven's Fac-Similie Documents,* Vol. XVII, No. 1632.]

MICHAEL CONNOLLY.

Journal of Congress, February 20, 1776, records:

The Committee of Claims reported there is due: To Michael Connolly, expenses for waggon hire, carrying the prisoners' baggage from Bethlehem to Reading, and his own expenses four days, the sum of 160 dollars.

Michael Connolly is surely a Catholic name.

CHRISTOPHER PELLISIER.

In Congress, Monday, July 29, 1776: *Resolved,* That Mons. Christopher Pellisier, who has suffered considerably by warmly espousing and taking an active part in the cause of America, in Canada, be appointed an Engineer in the service of the United States, with the pay of 60 dollars per month with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and that he be directed to repair to New York."

He was a Canadian.

"LIBERATING A SOUL FROM PURGATORY."

Silas Deane and Benedict Arnold agree "Against the Anti-Christian Corruptions."

Silas Deane, one of the Commissioners of the United States to France, with Franklin and Lee wrote to Jesse Root, member of Congress from Paris, May 20, 1781. The letter was intercepted by the British and published in the *Royal Gazette* of November 24-28 and December 1, 1781. It is a long and confidential letter and shows Deane to have been unworthy if not a traitor. It may be read in the *Deane Papers,* Vol. IV, p. 347, published by the New York Historical Society Collections, 1889.

In it in relating the attitude of Spain toward the Colonies and "the ministry of Spain were naturally solicitous for information," and to obtain it a Spanish gentleman (Don Juan de Miralles) was sent to reside among us; but though Congress had at different times appointed no less than three ministers to the Spanish Court, this gentleman was never permitted to assume any public character, and therefore his residence among us was a continual insult, an indirect denial of our independency, so long as he lived and his death produced a remarkable instance of condescension and inconsistency, not to say hypocrisy, in Congress, who, to liberate the soul of the deceased from Purgatory, very devoutly attended one of the most superstitious rights (*sic*) of a religion which that body but a little time before, in addressing the people of England had described as "having dispersed impiety, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world." But this and all other endeavors to conciliate the good-will of Spain appear to have failed."

Writing to his brother Barnabas from Ghent, October 21, 1781, he said: "I have written a long letter to Mr. Root expressly with the design of having the same read in Congress and in our Assembly" (Connecticut). [*Deane Papers,* IV, p. 507.]

These sentiments accord with those of Benedict Arnold who was present at the Requiem Mass at St. Mary's, Philadelphia, Monday, May 8, 1780, for the repose of the soul of Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish Agent—if not Minister—who died at the camp of Washington at Morristown, New Jersey, April 29, 1780.

Arnold in his Address to the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army dated October 20, 1780, said:

"Do you know that the eye which guides this pen lately saw your mean and profligate Congress at Mass for the soul of a Roman Catholic in Purgatory and participating in the rites of a Church against whose anti-Christian corruptions your pious ancestors would have witnessed with their blood."

That old church in which the Traitor saw all this still remains. In its schoolhouse a Spanish congregation has been formed.

Arnold betrayed his Country. Deane was recalled from France and his reputation for fidelity to the Country he represented is not bright and clear.

FATHER GIBAULT'S "GOOD SERVICES."

Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, in writing to Colonel George Rogers Clark, December 15, 1778, requested: "I beg you will present my compliments to Mr. Gibault and Doctor Lafong and thank them for their good services." [*Trans. Ill His. Soc.*, 1905, p. 27, article by J. P. Dunn.]

FATHER GIBAULT DENIES AIDING THE AMERICANS.

Father Gibault, "the Patriot Priest of the West," of Vincennes, in writing to the Bishop of Quebec, May 22, 1788, soliciting to be changed from Vincennes, then under the jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll, to that of the Bishop of Quebec, wrote:

"My age of more than fifty-one years, the need I have of being better sheltered, after so many hardships which inevitably accompany so many journeys and long trips, the repugnance I have in serving another Bishop either in Spain or in republican America, and a thousand other reasons, all these, I say, well considered, lead me to expect from your generosity my recall, which I ask of you at once and on my knees, and in this I believe I am following the will of God who inspires me for my own salvation. And as for opposition to me because of the fear that I may have been or was active for the American Republic, you have only to read my first letter in which I gave you an account of our capture and my last letter in which I sent you a certificate of my conduct at Port Vincennes, in the capture of which they said I had taken a hand; and you will see that not only did I not meddle with anything, but on the contrary I have always regretted and do regret every day the loss of the mildness of British rule." [Quebec Archives: *Ill. His. Col.*, V, p. 585.]

TWO OF OURS COMMANDED THE CAVALRY.

Two Catholics commanded the Cavalry of the Army of the American Revolution—Count Pulaski till March 20, 1778, and Stephen Moylan, appointed by Washington, to command after the resignation of Pulaski to organize an independent corps, "The Pulaski Legion," which he commanded until his death at the siege of Savannah, October 9, 1779.

"We thank Thee with all our hearts for the blessings which Thou didst bestow on the country, when, as a nation, the colonies formed that union of States, which strengthened and prospered the Government of the people, and made the United States a power for good in the world." [Extract Mgr. Griffin's Prayer at Lincoln Memorial Meeting, February 12, 1909, at Worcester, Mass.]

ST. PATRICK'S DAY, 1777.

On St. Patrick's Day, 1777, Dr. Hall Jackson, who had acted as Surgeon at Bunker's Hill, wrote to Elbridge Gerry from Portsmouth, N. H., saying, "This morning a French Ship, 300 tons, 16 guns, 50 men arrived here, having on board 10,085 stands of arms, 50 tons of gunpowder." [A. L. S. Henkels, June 3d, 1910.]

John Jacobs of Philadelphia Light Dragoons, Commanded by Rich Howenden, Capt., 10th Jan., 1778 (British). John Jacobs transferred 1st Dec. to the Roman Catholic Corps. [*Pa. Mag.*, Jan., 1910, p. 4.]

DR. JAMES O'FALLEN.

Born in Athlone, Ireland, served as a Surgeon in Continental army under Washington. Died in Louisville in 1833. [Rev. C. F. O'Leary in Vol. IX, p. 211 of *Journal of Am. Irish His. Soc.*]

"THE RELIGION OF THE POPE."

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, Convened April 4th, 1775, prepared an Address to the Mohawk Indians to be delivered to them by Rev. Mr. Kirkland. In it was said:

"Our Fathers in Great Britain have made a law to establish the Religion of the Pope in Canada which lies so near you. We much fear some of your children may be induced, instead of worshipping the only true God, to pay his dues to images made with their own hands." [*Am. Ar.*, 4-1, p. 1350.]

"SCUM OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS."

In Strictures on a Pamphlet entitled "A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans on the Subject of our Political Confusions," Addressed to the People of America, published in Philadelphia 1774, written by General Charles Lee, afterwards second in command to Washington, stated that Great Britain had great difficulty in keeping the regiments up to anything near their establishment: what they are able to procure are of the worst sort. They are composed of the most debauched weavers 'prentices, the scum of the Irish Roman Catholics who desert upon every occasion and a few Scotch who are not strong enough to carry packs. [*Lee* Papers, I, 161.]

PATRICK ROGERS DESERTS THE BRITISH.

HEADQUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, 29th May, 1779.

Patrick Rogers says he is a native of Ireland, was a Corporal in Lord Cathcart's Legion and deserted this morning in company with two others of the same corps. [*Papers of Gov. Clinton,* IV, p. 856.]

A POWDER MAKER.

Franklin in writing to Congress from Paris, August 9th, 1780, said, "M. Fouquet, who was employed by Congress to instruct people in making gunpowder, is arrived here, after a long passage; he has requested me to transmit a memorial to Congress which I do enclose."

THE IRISH BRIGADE.

Gen. Thomas Conway [of the Conway Cabal] in writing to Charles Carroll of Carrollton from Camp at White Marsh, November 14th, 1777, said:

Mr. Deane [one of the Commissioners to France] directed me to encourage and bring over some officers of the Irish Brigade. I got one hundred and sixty guineas for that purpose. I gave eighty-four guineas to two officers who came over with me and whose receipts I can produce. Seventy-six guineas I sent to four officers of the Irish Brigade who were prevented from embarking on account of the noise made about the *Amphritrite.* [Rowland's *Carroll,* I, 227.]

CAPTAIN PATRICK DENNIS.

May 28, 1776, Newburyport, Mass. Capt. Patrick Dennis of the Ranger, 14 guns, in the service of the Colonies, brought into this place a ship, 280 tons and another vessel of 260 tons, both from England laden with clothing and military stores for the British troops. They had upwards of 11,000 pair of shoes on board. [*Am. Ar.*, 4th Series, Vol. VI, p. 629.]

FATHER CARROLL AND BEN FRANKLIN.

When Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Samuel Chase, the Commissioners to Canada, were prepared to leave Canada, Dr. Franklin left Montreal May 11th, 1776, to go to St. John's and from thence to Congress.

Rev. John Carroll the next day left Montreal to join Franklin at St. John's from whence they sailed on the 13th. The same day Charles Carroll of Carrollton went to St. John's to examine into the state of that garrison and of the batteries. There he met Gen. Thompson and Col. Sinclair, with part of Thompson's Brigade. Carroll left New York April 2d, 1776, and arrived in Philadelphia June 11th, at "two o'clock in the night." [*Journal C. C. of C.*]

See Lossing's *Life Gen. Schuyler,* Vol. I, for details of return of Franklin and Carroll.

PIERRE LA CROIX.

The records of St. Mary's Church, Alexandria, Va., has the following entry made in 1831 by Rev. John Smith, "an eloquent and whole souled Irish Jesuit":

"At the house of Mr. Edward Smith who had afforded him a refuge in his later years, Pierre La Croix in his 88th year, probably the last surviving soldier who served under Montcalm, the best General of the French, who with a superior force defended Quebec against Wolfe where they both fell on the field of battle. La Croix was then 12 years of age, a drummer in one of the French regiments. He afterwards served during the Revolutionary War, spoke often of the bravery of Montgomery who fell under the walls of Quebec. La Croix was a *soldier* and he died a *Christian,* professing the faith of the true Catholic Church of which his name, *the Cross,* was an emblem. The writer has often greeted him in passing and he was a real sample of the old French regime in native courtesy." [*Woodstock Letters,* XIV, p. 112.]

AMERICAN "REBELS" AND BRITISH FORCES ALIKE COMPOSED OF "EMIGRANTS."

The testimony of General Robertson of the British army is often cited to show that one-half the Continental army under Washington were natives of Ireland. The whole testimony was thus given:

Q. How are the provincial corps composed; whether mostly of native Americans, or from emigrants from various nations of Europe?

A. Some of the corps consist mostly of natives; others, I believe the greatest number are enlisted from such people that can be got in the country, and many of them may be emigrants; our force is not distinguished from the rebels in that circumstance. I remember General Lee telling me, that he believed half the rebel army were from Ireland.

Q. By the rebel army, did General Lee mean that continental army or militia?

A. I mean the continental army.

Q. Are the Provincials in the King's service generally officered by Americans of property in that country?

A. I remember great numbers: most of the officers that we put at the head of the regiments were men of the best influence in the country; etc. [This includes all that is said concerning Ireland or the Irish.]

[The Parliamentary Register; . . . Fifth Session of the Fourteenth Parliament, Vol. XIII, p. 303, A. D. 1779.]

THE JESUITS MISSION HOUSE A HOSPITAL FOR THE PATRIOTS OF 1776.

Newtown Manor, Maryland, an early Jesuit Mission and the place where the "Select Body of the Catholic Church" met from time to time after the suppression of the Order was often "during the Revolutionary was disturbed" by the British "who sometimes knocked in its doors with the butts of their villainous guns." Tradition says, however, that the Jesuits did not wholly abandon it during the War of Independence. On the contrary, as soon as circumstances would allow, they threw open all its rooms to the heroes who fell wounded in the cause of their country. Thus a new interest is attached to the famous old Manor from the fact that it was a temporary hospital for the soldiers of 1776. [*Woodstock Letters*, Vol. XIV, p. 67.]

PULASKI.

Here is what President Taft said in his speech about Pulaski, the gallant Polish hero of the Revolutionary War, whose statue was unveiled with impressive ceremonies in Washington, May 11, 1910:

When he came here the American army practically had no cavalry, and to him, with the permission of Washington and with the vote of the Congress, was turned over the question of the organization of a cavalry force. At Brandywine and at Germantown he showed the mettle that was in him. The insufficiency of the American cavalry was such that he was hampered in the movements that he sought to make, but in that dread winter at Valley Forge, at the head of such a cavalry as there was, with his headquarters at Trenton, by foraging and by harassing the enemy, he occasionally threw a gleam of sunshine into that darkened refuge of the American troops.

Subsequently, organizing an independent legion known as "Pulaski's Legion" he fought his way from North to South, until finally, after taking part in the campaign about Charleston, he lost his life in a brilliant charge at the siege of Savannah, and was, as the distinguished orator who preceded me said, suitably buried in the bosom of the ocean from a frigate of the United States.

Chivalric of race, and of knightly form, brave, dashing, courageous, but gentle as a woman, sweet in all the associations of life, there hangs about him all the romance of ancient knighthood.

Pulaski, like the vast majority of his countrymen, was a Catholic. He died with the words, "Jesus, Mary and Joseph," on his lips. Three millions of his fellow-countrymen, loyal to America and the Catholic Church, have become citizens of this country since Pulaski's day. They form an important part of the people of this republic. Their claim upon the good will and sympathy of all Americans has been worthily earned. America's debt to them can never be repudiated so long as the history of the Revolutionary War is read, and the Polish heroes, Kosciuszko and Pulaski, whose statues now stand in the nation's capitol, are remembered and honored. [*Sacred Heart Review,* May 28, 1910.]

THE ERIN.

The French navy had a vessel of 28 guns called "L'Erin." It was captured in the West Indies by Admiral Rowley.

CATHOLICS IN IRELAND NOT ENLISTING.

William Lee, Sheriff and Alderman of London and later Commissioner of Congress to France, writing to his brother, Richard Henry Lee, from London, July 13, 1775: "The Ministry if they get men at all it must be from Scotland, or among the Irish Roman Catholics, for the American War is really so odious and disgusting to the common people in England, that no soldiers or sailors will inlist." [*Letters,* I, 164.]

Walpole notes in his *Last Journal,* "The government [in August, 1775] could not get above 400 recruits and failed in their attempt to raise a regiment of Roman Catholics."

Lecky, *History of England,* III, 457, says: "Recruiting agents traversed the Highlands of Scotland and the most remote districts of Ireland, and the poor Catholics of Munster and Connaught who had so long been excluded from the English army were gladly welcomed. Recruits, however, came in very slowly. There was no enthusiasm for a war with the English settlers."

THE CARROLLS.

On May 31, 1776, Rev. John Carroll arrived in Philadelphia from his mission to Canada. On June 2d he wrote his counsin, Charles Carroll, Sr., father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, giving information of him. [See his letter in the *Centennial Memorial of the Maryland Historical Society,* p. 109, or in Rowland's *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton,* Vol. I, p. 170-1.]

On June 10, 1776, Charles Carroll of Carrollton arrived in Philadelphia returned from Canada. The next day he and Samuel Chase, his fellow-Commissioner, attended Congress and gave an account of their proceedings and the state of the army in Canada, "which cannot surprise you more than it has done me," wrote Washington from New York to Congress the day before. [Rowland's *Carroll,* I, 173.]

"CANADIANS JOIN IN GREAT NUMBERS."

"The Canadians are friendly and join us in great numbers," wrote General Schuyler to the New York Provincial Congress from Ticonderoga, September 29, 1775. [*Am. Ar.,* 4, III, 841.]

A SCOTCH CATHOLIC LOYALIST.

Captain John MacDonald, of Prince Edward's Island, at the outbreak of the Revolution formed a Company for the defence of that Island and Nova Scotia from the Americans. General Small, the British commander, reported to the English government: "The activity and unabating zeal of Captain John MacDonald, of Glenaladale, in bringing an excellent company into the field is his least recommendation, being acknowledged by all who knew him to be one of the most accomplished men and best officer of his rank in his Majesty's service."

Captain MacDonald was born at Glenaladale, Scotland, in 1742. He was educated at the Jesuit University of Ratisbon in Germany. A relative, Alexander MacDonald, of Boisdale, on island of Mist, married a Protestant and abandoned the Catholic faith, endeavored to turn the peasants of the estate to Protestantism, driving them to the Protestant church with a cudgel and requiring them to sign "an absolute retraction of their religion and a promise under oath never to have any dealings with a priest." They refused—preferred to emigrate—persecution spread. It was resolved to emigrate to America. Bishop Grant, Vicar Apostolic of the Highlands and his Coadjutor, Dr. Hay contributed and had the assistance of Bishop Challoner of London who had collections taken at the Catholic embassies in London.

Captain John MacDonald in 1771 bought a large estate on Prince Edward's Island, then known as St. John's. He mortgaged his estate at Glenfinnan to get means to bring the people.

In 1772 on the "Alexander" with 210 passengers he sent with one year's provisions to Prince Edward's Island.

In 1773 he came, "joined his people by way of Philadelphia and Boston." He was Laird of Glenaladale and Glenfinnan. [*Messenger*, N. Y., Jan. 1902.]

CANADIAN PRISONERS ALLOWED TO COME TO PHILADELPHIA FROM BRISTOL.

On March 1, 1776, Congress *Resolved*, That Colonel Belestre, Major Longeuil and Captain Lotbiniere, three of the Canadian prisoners who are at Bristol, in Pennsylvania, be permitted to come to Philadelphia to confer with the Committee on Prisoners, and there await the orders of Congress.

FRENCH VOLUNTEERS.

August 29, 1776, in Congress it being represented by Dr. B. Franklin that Mons. Bernard de la Marquisie had a commission given him by the Commissioners to Canada to be Captain and Engineer in one of the Regiments to be raised there, but that he lost his commission, with his baggage, at Chambly it was thereupon resolved that a new commission be granted to him.

July 23, 1776, *Resolved,* That Monsieur St. Martin be appointed an engineer with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and put himself under the command of General Washington.

April 4, 1776, Congress *Resolved,* That an order be drawn on the treasurers in favour of Monsr. Le Fontaine, for his services in Canada.

September 9, 1776, a memorial from Mons. de la Falconniére was presented, read and referred to the Marine Committee.

Three petitions, one from Pierre du Calvet, another from Jaques Pileur and the third from André Pepin were presented to Congress, read and referred to the Board of War.

September 11, 1776, a memorial from Stephen Pater de la Cossade, presented, read and referred to Marine Committee.

Letter from Monsieur La Chevalier Sauralle laid before Congress August 29, 1776, and referred to Board of War. The Letter is in *Papers of Congress,* No. 41, IX, folio 1.

John Sullivan came from France where he was a naturalized subject. He entered the Continental army as a volunteer under Colonel Stephen Moylan. [*Pa. Ar.,* 5.]

June 13, 1776, in Congress, Captain De Lausay (a French gentleman) has produced to the Committee (on Qualifications) credentials of his having been a Captain in the French service and comes well recommended. It is submitted to Congress whether or not they will grant his prayer, in appointing him a Lieutenant Colonel.

Against this paragraph in the original manuscript appears the words, "Not considered."

BRIG "ST. PATRICK."

During the Revolution a brig, the "St. Patrick," of Philadelphia, was commanded by Captain Decatur, father of (afterwards) Commodore Stephen Decatur. [*Am. Mo. Mag.,* July, '94, p. 63.]

REV. JOHN CARROLL TO BEN. FRANKLIN.

In addition to the letter of Father John Carroll to Benjamin Franklin, Commissioner to France, which was published in the RESEARCHES July, 1909, the two notes herewith given are in the Franklin Correspondence at the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.

REQUESTS FRANKLIN TO FORWARD LETTER TO LIEGE.

The Rev. Mr. John Carroll whom Docr. Franklin may remember by the comsn. into Canada presents his compts. & requests the Docr. to do him the favour to forward the inclosed letter for Liege by post. His care is requested of the other to forward when a favourable oppy. offers. [Vol. XXVI, *Am. Phil. Soc.*]

Sep. 15, 1782.

On April 2, 1787, from Georgetown, Rev. John Carroll gave letter of introduction to Mr. Digges to present to Franklin, then in Philadelphia. It reads:

INTRODUCES MR. DIGGES TO FRANKLIN.

Hon. and Much respected Sir:

Mr. Digges will have the honour of presenting you these few lines. His business calls him to Philada. & he is desirous of paying his respects, when they are so justly due from every friend of his country and indeed of human kind. He is my relative & has often heard me speak of you in such terms as have added to his veneration for your character. For I do with truth assure you, that I esteem it as one of the most fortunate and honourable events of my life, that I had an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with you & I flatter myself with having inspired you with some sentiments of regard & more than general benevolence towards me.

That you may long continue to be the blessing of your Country, is the wish of all its friends; and that you may not only live to enlighten & better mankind but continue to do so with freedom from sickness & pain is the earnest wish of

Hon. Dear Sir
Yr. Most devoted &
Obliged Sert.
J. CARROLL.

Georgetown,
April 2d, 1787.

My warmest & respectful Compliments to Mr. & Mrs. Bache, Mr. Franklin & all Yr. family.

[Vol. XXXV, 42.]

These are all the letters in the Collection. There are none in the Library of Congress. The University of Pennsylvania has not catalogued its Franklin Papers but as yet it is not known that any of Father Carroll's are in it.

THE TWO CANADIAN REGIMENTS.

The following references are submitted:

The *American Archives,* 4th Series, Vols. IV and V, 1775-1776, contain items concerning the Canadian regiments.

Colonel Hazen's regiment. ("Congress' own," 1776-1783.) (In *Pennsylvania Archives,* 2d Series, Vol. XI, pp. 99-107. Harrisburg, 1880. 8vo.) Brief sketch of the regiment, with a list of the Pennsylvania members.

Colonel James Livingston. (In *Magazine of American History,* Vol. XXI, Jan., 1889, pp. 71-74.) From John Schuyler's "The Society of the Cincinnati."

Moses Hazen. The memorial of Colonel Moses Hazen to General Washington, 1779. (In *Pennsylvania Archives,* Vol. VIII 1779-1781, pp. 17-19. Philadelphia, 1853. 8vo.)

Benson J. Lossing. The Life and Times of Philip Schuyler. New York: Sheldon & Company, 1873. 2 vols. 12mo. Moses Hazen at Montreal, Vol. II, p. 42; Letter of, Vol. II, pp. 46-47, 50.

Benjamin Movers. Biography of Major-General Benjamin Movers of Plattsburg, Clinton County, N. Y., written, in 1833 by request of his son, Benjamin H. Movers. (In *Historical Magazine,* Vol. XXI, Feb., 1872, pp. 92-94.) "A detailed history of this regiment (Hazen's) written by its Adjutant."

United States. Continental Congress. Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the original records in the Library of Congress by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Vols. IV-VI. Jan.-Dec., 1776. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905-1906. 3 vols. 4to. Contains memorials and reports relating to the Canadian regiments.

DUCHÉ, THE TRAITOR MINISTER, LAMENTS THAT THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS NO LONGER HAS A "PROTESTANT CARROLL" BUT A CATHOLIC CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Rev. Jacob Duché, Episcopal Minister of Philadelphia, who made the "first prayer in the first Continental Congress and was, after the Declaration of Independence, elected Chaplain of Congress. He "officiated two months and three weeks" when he resigned and "from that time as far as my safety would permit," he wrote General Washington, "I have been opposed to their measures."

On October 8, 1777, he wrote Washington beseeching him to abandon the cause of Liberty and Independence.

He set forth the degradation that had come on Congress: "The most respectable characters have withdrawn themselves and are succeeded by a great majority of illiberal and violent men. . . . Maryland no longer sends a Tilghman and a Protestant Carroll."

This referred to Charles Carroll of the Maryland Assembly—a Protestant. Maryland had instead of sending him—the Protestant—had sent Charles Carroll of Carrollton—the Catholic. Surely Maryland had become degenerate!

So he wanted Washington "to engage in the glorious work" of "negotiating" with Congress "at the head of" his "army to settle the dispute with England by abandoning Independency. Washington sent the letter to Congress.

Duché fled to the British. He returned to America after Independency had been acknowledged by Great Britain to his consternation, doubtless.

He lived at North East Corner of Third and Pine Streets and is buried in St. Peter's Episcopal graveyard on the opposite corner.

I have a copy, with his autograph signature, of the third [London] edition of his book, "Observations on a Variety of Subjects Literary, Moral and Religious in a Series of Original Letters Written by a Gentleman of Foreign Extraction Who Resided some time in Philadelphia," London, 1791.

The Letters were written in 1771-2 and were signed "Tamoc Caspipina," a word composed of the initial letters of The Assistant Minister of Christ Church and Saint Peter's in Philadelphia in North America.

The Letters, mainly, relate to Philadelphia—descriptive and character and personal. In a Letter of January 14, 1772, to the

Rt. Honourable Lord Viscount P——, Queen St., Westminster, he related:

"Speaking of Rome reminds me of a visit I lately received from the Rector of the Roman Catholic church in this City, in consequence of a letter I sent to him from Mr. Philips, the author of the life of Cardinal Pole, which has lately revived much of the old controversy in England. Mr. H[ardin]g (for this is the name of the Rector) appears to be a decent well-bred Gentleman, and I am told he is much esteemed by all denominations of Christians in this City, for his prudence, his moderation, his known attachment to British liberty and his unaffected pious labours among the people to whom he officiates. He corresponds with our old friend Abbé Gr——t at Rome. He was so obliging as to invite my friend, the Merchant and myself to spend an hour with him in his little *Carthusian* cell, as he calls it. This small apartment joins an old Gothic Chapel, and together with another opposite to it (which is occupied by an assistant German priest) forms a kind of porch through which you enter the Chapel. Here the venerable man entertained us very agreeably; and as I was particularly inquisitive about the settlement and labours of his brethren, the Jesuits, at Paraguay, he put into my hands, at parting, a very circumstantial narration of the rise and progress of these settlements written by one Muratori which I have since read with much pleasure."

The "assistant German priest" was Rev. Ferdinand Farmer who died August, 1786. Father Harding died September 1, 1772.

"The Revolution whilst it gave a being to the United States of America constituted at the same time a salient epoch in the annals of the human race." [Rev. Matthew Carr, O.S.A., Discourse on Washington, St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, February 22, 1800.]

BETSY ROSS AND THE FLAG.

In reply to "Penn" of the *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia, I sent this reply to his article on Betsy Ross and the Flag. It was published June 18, 1910. I hope sometime to compile a relation of all relating to the Flag—the Stars and Stripes. I have the material gathered:

"*Dear Penn:* You say that, notwithstanding the doubt or "not proven" attitude of the Betsy Ross claim, her "admirers" virtually have the field to themselves, and it is thus that they ask, "If it was not she who made it, then who did?" Her "admirers" would not so ask if they held proof of the claim.

But in the *New England Historical Register* of January, 1877, is a letter from Admiral Preble, author of "The History of the Flag," giving a letter of Mrs. Caroline Purdy, of Baltimore, to Mrs. Appleton, daughter of Colonel Armstead, written in 1876, relative to the flag of Fort McHenry, in which Mrs. Purdy says: "It was made by my mother, Mrs. Mary Pickersgill, and I assisted her. My grandmother, Rebecca Young, made the first flag of the Revolution under General Washington's directions and for this reason my mother was selected by Commodore Barney and General Stryker to make this Star Spangled Banner."

This testimony shows there is another grandmother claimant, but her descendants have not exploited the incident nor covered it with "patriotic" glamor. This Rebecca Young, in 1780, advertised "Colours for the Army and Navy made and sold on the most reasonable terms by Rebecca Young, in Walnut Street, near Third, and next door but one to Mr. Samuel McLene's."

Besides, the claims of the Rossites have been modified since the declaration of claim was made in 1870, when at Harrisburg, Colonel J. Franklin Reigert issued a "History of the First United States Flag and the Patriotism of Betsy Ross, the Immortal Heroine that Originated the First Flag of the United States." He claimed to be a relative and to have got the story, with many others, from Mrs. Ross in 1824. He claimed not only that the flag was "originated" by her, but that she also designed the seal of the United States, and was the first to use the name "United States of America."

But so absurd were those claims that the Rossites, through Mr. William Canby, had to repudiate the tales except that of

designing and making the first flag, after instructing Washington, in May, 1776, how to cut stars suitable for a flag.

Mr. George Canby, Betsy's grandson, once called on me respecting my publications opposing the claim of the family. I gave him proof that Washington was not in Philadelphia at the time the flag was adopted, and that no committee of Congress had been appointed in relation to a flag. He exclaimed, "Then the story is not true; but my grandmother was a truthful woman."

That I do not oppose, but I believe that the grandmother's story to the children around her knees was that she had made the first flags of the Stars and Stripes pattern. All the balderdash about Washington has been added to give a "patriotic" flavor to the story. As the flag was not adopted by Congress until June 14, 1777, Betsy couldn't have made its plan and stars in May, 1776.

That date was adopted to fix a time Washington was in Philadelphia consulting with Congress, and then, as Dr. Jordan, of the Historical Society, says, "Washington never walked to Arch Street to see a woman snip stars."

If the Rossites would simply claim that Betsy *made* the first flag or flags, after Congress had adopted the star form, they would be within the lines of probability with the contest for honors between her and Rebecca Young. Moreover, all this love, devotion and honor now given our country's flag had no existence during the Revolution. The United States was of but little account to the people. It simply was "in Congress assembled," but it had no force, no authority and was at most simply an advisory board. The fight was for the freedom and independence of their States, which were separately acknowledged as Independent States by Great Britain.

The "stars and stripes" was of no special import to the people. Of all the Revolutionary flags preserved, all are State or local ensigns except one Stars and Stripes of the Third Maryland Continental Regiment. It is in the State House at Annapolis. Betsy Ross made Pennsylvania colors for the State Navy; there is proof of that. But it is wholly-doubtful if a starred flag was made in Philadelphia until long after June, 1777.

The striped flag was in use in the Continental army and navy from January 1, 1776, when Washington had it hoisted at camp at Cambridge. All that Congress did on June 14, 1777, was to strike out the English cross and insert thirteen stars instead; that's all.

It was of such little import, even to Congress, that nothing but the resolution appears on the minutes—no name of committee or of mover or any explanation. They simply thought that after the Declaration it was time to drop the English cross, and put in an emblem indicative of the separation which had taken place.

MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN.

"THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION."

"The glorious Revolution which placed the present royal family upon the British throne." [Committee of Philadelphia to Assembly, Oct. 31, 1775. *Am. Ar.*, 4, III, 1782.] That Revolution, 1688-9, was the inspiration of the American Revolutionists, as much evidence could be produced to show.

The *Monitor*, No. 11, New York, November 16, 1775, said: It ought to be our best consideration and firmest support that the resistance we are making cannot be deemed rebellion, without implying the same stigma on the Revolution, an event that forms the most illustrious epoch on the whole circle of English affairs. If we are rebels, all those who were concerned in inviting the Prince of Orange over to England, who were instrumental in the expulsion of the tyrant James, and who afterwards concurred in placing the crown on the head of William, were rebels of the blackest dye. William himself was a detestable usurper, and all his successors have been very little better. These consequences, in spite of cobweb casuistry, and all the subtilizing arts of political chemists, are absolutely unavoidable. [*Amer. Arch.*, 4, III, p. 1566.]

The very name "REVOLUTION" was taken from "The Glorious REVOLUTION." The title of DECLARATION of Independence was taken from "The DECLARATION OF THE LORDS Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster," and also "The DECLARATION of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland."

SOME PASSAGES IN THE LIFE OF COMMODORE JOHN BARRY.

The First Captain in the United States Navy under the Constitution.

BY J. E. DOW, ESQ.

It is particularly gratifying to the student of History to trace out the lives of the heroes of former ages whether they fought upon the hillside or on the sounding valleys of the ocean, in an obscure canton of a mountain land, or on the sea-board of an infant nation. We love to contemplate the virtues of the illustrious dead, and as each succeeding age carries them farther back into the mists of time, their deeds of noble daring gleam brighter and brighter, and a halo of imperishable glory becomes their sure reward. No American in the Nineteenth Century can contemplate the banner that glitters in beauty above his head without paying a grateful tribute to him,

> Whose blood baptized its striped fold,
> Whose hand made bright its stars . . .

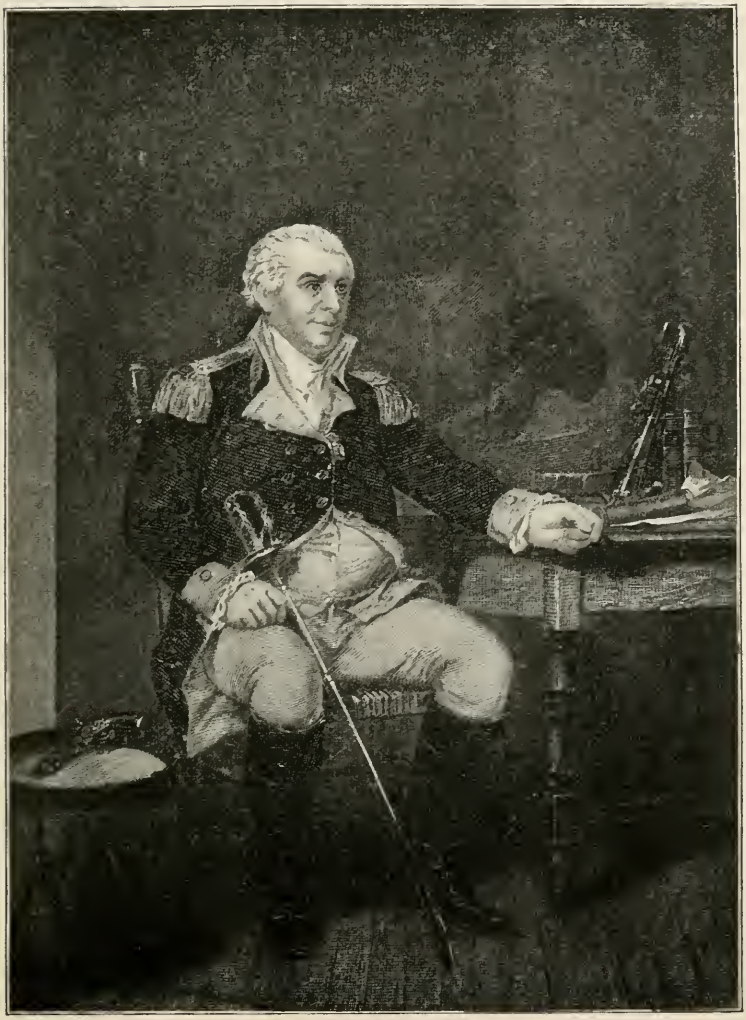
Commodore John Barry was one of those gallant spirits whose valor won for them in the infancy of the American Navy the sobriquet of the "Fire Eaters." An Irishman by birth, he may well be supposed to have had no particular love for John Bull or his children.

He was a man of large stature and noble mind, frank and courteous in his manners, generous to a fault to his friends and severe and impetuous to his enemies, he worked his way from the hawse holes to the quarter deck and finally left the service at the call of the Angel to the cold watch of death.

> "With freedom's soil beneath his feet
> And freedom's banner waving o'er him."

Presuming that no one can be unacquainted with his early history, I pass on to the time when the Navy of the United States was re-organized, at the commencement of the French War.

Commodore Barry's commission, which is before me, gives him rank from the 4th day of June, 1794, although it was not



John Barry

signed by Washington until the 22d of February, 1797. A copy of this Commission accompanies this sketch and bears the bold signature of Washington. It is numbered ONE, and there being no Secretary of the Navy at that period, it bears the signature of the Secretary of War. His appointment to the command of the frigate "United States" is also embraced in this Commission. In this respect it differs from the commission now issued to the naval commanders of our day.

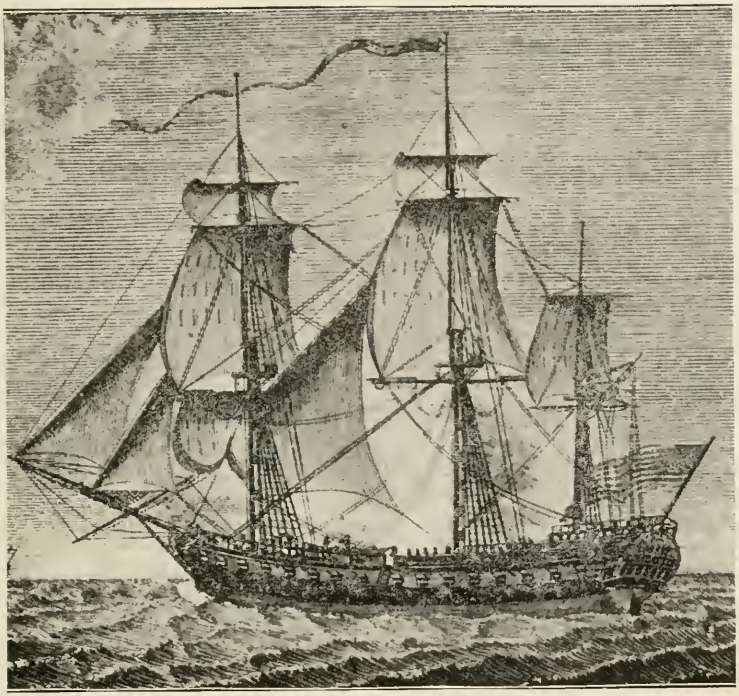
As early as December, 1794, in connection with Commodores Dale and Truxton we find him asking for active service at sea; we also find him with the same officers recommending the most approved model for the frigates ordered to be built and, furthermore, urging the necessity of building them from the almost imperishable live oak of our southern clime.

Barry, Nicholson and Truxton were appointed superintendents of the new frigates. Barry was stationed at Philadelphia to launch and fit out the "United States," Nicholson at Boston to superintend the "Constitution," while Truxton, at Baltimore, had charge of the "Constellation."

The "United States" was launched on the 10th of May, 1797, the "Constitution" on the 21st of October and the "Constellation" on the 7th of September of the same year. In June, 1798, the "Constellation" sailed on a cruize and in July, the "Constitution" and the "United States." The "Constellation" was a 36-gun frigate and the "Constitution" and the "United States" were 44s. The ships were all victorious in the end, though the "Constitution" and the "United States" had no trial of sufficient magnitude until a later period. The "Constellation," however, sent the "La Vengeance" into Curacoa in distress, with over 160 vacant numbers in her mess book and her masts and rigging nearly all shot away. It was made a matter of pride with these three commanders to get their ships at sea as soon as possible, and but for the yellow fever in the shipyard at Philadelphia, the "United States" would have sailed a year previous to the departure of the others. But to return to our principal object in commencing this sketch. The commission of Commodore Barry having been filled out, he went to receive it from the hands of the illustrious Commodore-in-Chief.

What an hour—how full of interest—he was to head a new service, for whatever may be said of the bravery of the sea dogs of the Revolution, the service when the war commenced with

France was of no account, a few gallant officers were to be found here and there, but their gold lace had become dim with age and their swords dull with rust; a few old hulks lay sinking in the mud at the wharves of our northern cities, while the rats held high court in the rotting "Alliance" on the island opposite Philadelphia. It was an hour of interest when Barry entered the presence of Washington—the father of his country surely felt an



THE FRIGATE "UNITED STATES"

anxiety for the honor of the Stars and Stripes at sea, and the commander, though he trod like a freeman by a freeman's hearth, undoubtedly felt the high responsibility of his situation. He received his commission with dignity. A cordial shake of the hand with his command and he was off for his frigate.

Among many things of interest concerning Barry, the following hasty sketches have been furnished me by one of his officers.

I have altered the language in a slight degree, but the spirit

has been rigidly adhered to. As they never have been published, they will doubtless prove interesting to the general reader:

It was late in July, 1798, when the frigate "United States," under the command of John Barry, the oldest commissioned officer in the United States Navy, sailed from Marcus Hook, on the river Delaware, on a cruize to the West Indies, in search of French vessels of war and merchantmen. I was an officer on board and a townsman of Barry's.

It was my first cruize; we were fortunate in missing the French—the affair of the "La Vengeance" happened during our cruize. Soon after our arrival on the West Indies station, the following circumstance occurred, which bid fair to produce at one time the most direful effects. It was a clear moonlight night—the "United States," under easy sail, was bound to a celebrated watering place in the island of Dominica, called Prince Rupert's Bay. As she drew near the land there suddenly emerged from its shadow and swept in the clear light a frigate—we knew her to be an English cruizer at once, and passed alongside. When we came within hail of each other the officer of the deck of the stranger hailed us in the usual way—"Ship A-hoy"—"Hello"—"From whence came you?"—"The 'United States'"—"What Ship is that?"—"The 'United States.'" The British officer did not seem to understand it. He again hailed—"What Ship is that?"—"The 'United States,' damn you," bellowed the Commodore through the trumpet. "Send your boat on board his Britannic majesty's ship 'Cleopatra,'" replied the British officer in a hasty manner. "I will do no such thing," answered the American. "If you have anything to say or do with Commodore John Barry, send your boat on board the frigate 'United States.'" "I insist upon your sending your boat on board his Britannic majesty's ship 'Cleopatra,'" said the British officer. Our vessels were now so near that we could hear the orders given to the quarter-master at the wheel. No answer was returned to the summons, but Commodore Barry ordered the drums to beat to quarters, and in less than five minutes the whole ship's company of nearly 500 men were at their posts, ready for action. As the guns were run out, the British officer again hailed, begged the Commodore not to fire and said that he would order a boat to be lowered and send an officer on board the "United States." This was immediately done, the

affair was amicably adjusted and during the stay of the "United States" at Dominica, the most friendly intercourse existed between the officers of both ships.

While the British Lieutenant was hailing, I omitted to mention that Commodore Barry turned to his First Lieutenant and said in a voice almost smothered with rage, "Damn them, I should like to have another fight with them before I die."

Late in the season at evening, while we were beating up under the lee of St. Thomas, at that time in the hands of the Danes, a light boat came off from the shore and a letter was put on board for the Commodore. After reading it, the Commodore bore down for the British squadron that was then blockading the island, and made a signal to speak the Admiral. The British three-decker hove her main topsail aback and the "United States" ran under her stern. Admiral Beresford, who was an acquaintance and fellow-townsman of Barry's, now appeared on deck, and after cordially returning the Commodore's salute, gave him permission to send his boat on shore for cabin stores. The Admiral then ran down to the fleet, while the "United States" tacked for the island. It was nearly dark when the ship hove to off the harbor of St. Thomas, and sent the second cutter ashore, in charge of myself, for the stores. As I was going over the ship's side, Commodore Barry directed me to bring off whatever articles might be given me by Mr. Murphy, a particular friend of his at St. Thomas. I accordingly pulled into the shore, and upon landing, found Mr. Murphy with a large amount of silver in bags, ready to be put on board the boat. Immediately the money was placed under my charge, and having purchased a quantity of provisions, I returned to the ship. Our boat was immediately ran up, and the "United States" took her departure for the southward.

The day after I landed, the island was taken by the British and the Admiral was informed of the loss of the treasure. Admiral Beresford swore marline spikes and great guns on the occasion, and sent the whole fleet in pursuit of Barry, but could not find him. The "United States" returned soon after to Philadelphia and the dollars of Murphy were deposited to his order in the Bank of America. Murphy returned to the United States shortly afterwards and settled in Philadelphia, where the fruits of a long period of toil and vexation awaited him, for which, as well he might, he rendered thanks to the adventurous Barry.

During the time the "United States" and the "Cleopatra" lay in Prince Rupert's Bay, a sailor on board the British ship had planned a way to escape, and had at the watering place communicated the same to one of our seamen. Accordingly, after the two vessels got under way—for they left the harbour together, the one bound to the windward and the other to the leeward—the sailor jumped overboard from the "Cleopatra" and swam for the "United States," where he found a line with a noose ready, and he was soon hauled on board. As he stepped his foot on deck, he looked up at the colors and said, "These are the colors I was born under, and these are the colors I will fight under until I die," and immediately ran on the quarter deck, half dressed as he was and dripping like a river god. "What is that you say, my friend?" said Commodore Barry, approaching him. "I am an American by birth, Sir, and have been impressed." "Have you any proof of your birth?" "I have a protection," said he, "on board the 'Cleopatra,' in my chest." "Very well," said the Commodore, "go below, I will protect you." A British officer now came on board from the "Cleopatra," which vessel was but a mile to leeward, and demanded the deserter from the Commodore. Commodore Barry informed him that he claimed to be an American and he could not give him up. The British officer declared that he was not, but that he was an Irishman by birth. Commodore Barry then sent for the sailor's chest while the British officer remained on board. Upon the arrival of the chest it was opened, and in a tin case was found the protection, which was exact in its description of the seaman's person, and regularly signed. He was declared to be a citizen of Philadelphia. Upon making this discovery the Commodore refused to give the deserter up and the British officer returned to his vessel in no very pleasant mood. The ships soon took their departure on different courses from the land, and at sunset the "United States" was alone. The seaman, who was a jolly fellow, now told his fellow-countrymen below that he had never seen the United States in his life.

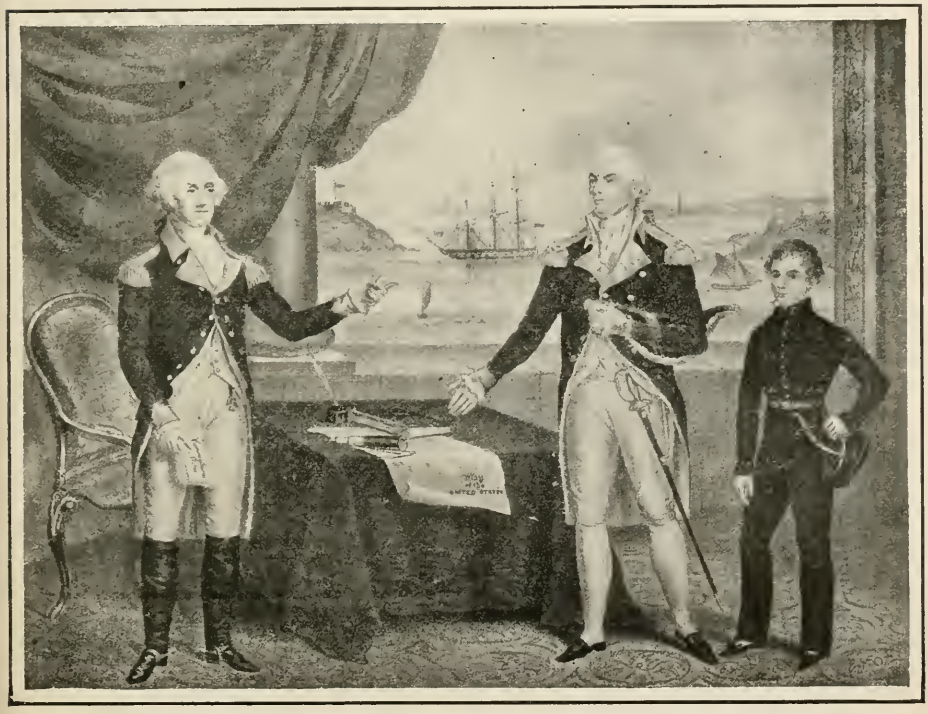
Many other incidents in the life of Barry could be collected, but the want of time compels me to bring this opening sketch to a close. Commodore Barry died as he had lived, a brave and excellent officer, and now in Philadelphia, with Truxton and Bainbridge and other gallant spirits of the deep, he sleeps the sleep that knows no waking.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO JOHN BARRY.

I, GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, fidelity and abilities, have nominated, and by and with the advice and consent of the SENATE, appointed you Captain in the Navy of the United States and Commander of the frigate called "United States"; to take rank from the fourth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

JOHN STAGG, JR.,
Clerk.

NO. ONE.



WASHINGTON PRESENTING COMMISSION NO. 1 TO CAPTAIN JOHN BARRY
(THE BOY IS PATRICK HAYES, BARRY'S NEPHEW)

You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of CAPTAIN AND COMMANDER by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And I strictly charge and require all Officers, Marines and Seamen under your command to

be obedient to your orders as Captain and Commander. And you are to observe and follow such orders and instructions from time to time as you shall receive from the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES who is the superior officer set over you according to the rules and discipline of War, and the usage of the sea. This COMMISSION to continue in force during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

G. WASHINGTON.

By the President.

JAMES MCHENRY,
Secretary of War.

[From *U. S. Military Mag.*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 1-3, Philadelphia, July, 1840.]

ESCAPE OF CAPTAIN BARRY—"A SHAVE."

Captain Thomas Read on October 23, 1775, was appointed Commander of the Pennsylvania Navy. He commanded the ship "Montgomery." On June 5, 1776, he resigned and next day was appointed Captain in the Continental Navy and assigned to the "Washington." He had a residence at White Hill, now Fieldsboro, New Jersey. In a manuscript written by his grandson, Colonel James Read, the following incident relating to Commodore John Barry is extracted and kindly supplied by his niece, Mrs. Anna Read Uhler:

"Once when Captain Thomas Read was absent from his home, Whitehill near Bordentown, his friend Captain Barry of the 'Effingham' frigate was staying at his house. Early in the morning an alarmed servant told Mrs. Read that a party of British were approaching the house. Mrs. Read hurried to Captain Barry's room and knocked. He opened the door holding a razor in his hand, his face lathered over preparatory to his morning shave. She begged him to fly quickly. With great tranquility he wiped his face and put his razor away. She urged instant flight saying, 'If you don't go they'll take you prisoner!' He laughingly replied, 'They won't catch me to-day'—calmly went down stairs, mounted his horse, which was in readiness, and rode off rapidly, concealed by the outbuildings and dwelling from the British soldiers, who presently arrived, surrounded the house and demanded him. Mrs. Read said, 'He is not here'—but went to deliver up all keys

that the search might begin and thus delayed them. After their fruitless efforts to find Captain Barry, she invited the officers to a good breakfast and sent out rum to his men. She was very graciously entertaining so the meal was prolonged. Later she told him the facts, but said she did not know the direction Captain Barry had taken. All of which was true. The soldiers being fatigued from their night march made no further effort to pursue one already beyond their reach."

BARRY "LITTLE KNOWN."

Americana, published by the National Americana Society of New York, in its April (1910) number, had a fairly correct relation of the services of JOHN BARRY, Father of the American Navy.

It begins: In the year 1760 there came over the sea from County Wexford, Ireland, to the shores of America, a maker of history. He was then a sunny-faced lad of fifteen, straight and sturdy with a fine shapely head covered with sunny curls. In our day he is known as the Father of the American Navy.

The writer, Elizabeth Pollard, says, "It seems strange that the general public should know so little of this great man who did so much for his country."

HARMONY OF THE RELIGION AND DUTY OF CATHOLICS.

"Fifteen millions of Catholics live their lives in our land with undisturbed belief in the perfect harmony existing between their religion and their duties as American citizens. It never occurs to their minds to question the truth of a belief which all their experience confirms. Love of religion and love of country burn together in their hearts.

"They love their country with the spontaneous and ardent love of all patriots, because it is their country and the source to them of untold blessings. They prefer its form of government before any other. They admire its institutions and the spirit of its laws. They accept the Constitution without reserve, with no desire as Catholics to see it changed in any feature. They can with a clear conscience swear to uphold it." [Cardinal Gibbons in *North American Review,* March, 1909.]

ORDERS OF THE CONTINENTAL MARINE COMMITTEE TO CAPTAIN JOHN BARRY.

When I compiled "The History of Commodore John Barry" (1897) and Commodore John Barry, the Father of the American Navy: The Record of His Services for Our Country (1903), the Letter Book of the Continental Marine Committee, though sought for in the Library of Congress and other repositories of documents, was not available nor even known to exist. It has since been discovered in the Library of Congress.

From this authentic source of information the following transcripts of communications of the Committee to Captain John Barry have been obtained, as well as several from the Papers of the Continental Congress:

January 29th, 1778.

CAPTAIN JOHN BARRY:

We having agreed to employ the Pinnace and Barges belonging to the Frigates and the Barge taken up by Captain Josiah in the River Delaware on a Cruize in Said River under your command. We hereby empower you to receive such war-like Stores, Provisions & other Stores from the Navy Board, and to employ such Continental Navy officers not in Actual service and to collect such a number of Men as you shall think necessary for officering, manning, victualling and eqquipping said Boats. As you will have frequent occasion to land on each side of the Delaware during your Cruize you will take effectual care to restraine your officers & men from plundering, insulting or in any way treating ill the Inhabitants of the Country. Humanity, good Policy and your reputation demand that they should be treated with kindness—you may want supplies from them and their assistance in moving to a place of safety such effects as you may capture—you will therefore attend particularly to this Instruction. We have directed the Navy Board to furnish you with everything necessary for equiping your little fleet and with money to procure supplies for your Crews as occasion may require.

You will take account of all goods of every kind which you may Capture and prevent their being pilfered. As it will be necessary that you should take with you or appoint on Shore Some honest faithful persons who are well acquainted with the Country and will undertake to procure waggons for the speedy removal to a place

of Safety and take care of such goods as you may Capture—you will attend particularly to this necessary point and employ such persons. You will give immediate notice to General Washington of such stores as you may Capture which are necessary for the use of the Army. We would have you Sink or otherwise destroy the Hulls of all such Vessels as you may take which cannot be removed to some place of safety. The Vessels wh. you take and preserve and the goods which you Capture must be libelled in the Court of Admiralty in the State into which they are carried—you will therefore employ some suitable Attorney to libell for the same.

The Success of your Cruize depending upon your despatch activity prudence and valour we hope you will exert the utmost of your abilities on this occasion. Write to us frequently and particularly of your proceedings. Wishing you success.

March 11th, 1778.

Captain John Barry:

We have received your letter of the 8th instant and congratulate you on the successful commencement of your expedition and hope it will be attended with Similar advantages to the Public and Glory to the gallant Commander, brave officers & men concerned in it, throughout the whole course. The good opinion you have of your Prize Schooner has determined us to purchase her for a Cruizer, you will therefore obtain the consent of the Partys who took her, have her fairly valued, and take her at that valuation for the public. She is to be called the Wasp, and as you have represented her to be properly equiped in every particular for an Armed Vessel, you will see that she is officered & manned as soon as possible, take the command of her yourself or bestow it on some brave Active prudent officer. You will employ her there so long as you shall think prudent, but should you apprehend there will be danger of her falling into the hands of the enemy you will send her out of the Bay into the Sinepuxent, Chincoteaque or any of the Inlets on the Coast, where you will be able to collect a full Complement of Men if not well manned before. That done let her take such Station off Cape Henlopen as to be able to descry the enemies Vessels coming in & going out of the Capes and to secure a retreat should she fall in with any Vessels of Superior force. We observe that you have advised General Washington of your Success, and expect you have furnished him with Inventories of

what was on board your Prizes. Any articles which he may direct to be kept for the use of the Army you will retain having them properly valued and delivered them as he may direct.

With regard to the general distribution of the Prize Money it is our opinion it should be distributed according to the number of Men & Guns in each Boat concerned in the Capture. As to the distribution among the officers and Men in the Continental Boats (If no previous agreement had been entered into) it must be made agreeable to the Continental Regulations, but if those Regulations should Appear not to be adapted to the peculiar circumstances of your expedition, we consent that you should enter into such agreement with your officers and Men as shall be most satisfactory to you & them. We approve of your consulting the Honorable Nicholas Vandyke Esqr. when necessary and would have you agreeable to your Instructions, put your Prize goods under his care or any other person you may think proper, and continue to pursue the main object of your expedition with all your usual vigour and activity. The Prisoners you have taken or shall take you will deliver to the commander of that Department of the Main Army which may be most convenient to you. We thank you for the early inteligence of your success—your well known bravery and good conduct gives us Strong hopes of hearing from you often on Similar Occasions.

P.S.—Please to transmit to us an Inventory of the effects you have Captured. enclosed is Lieutenant Cokeleys receipt for 50 Dollars which he will account with you for.

March 26th, 1778.

Captain John Barry:

We have received your Letter of the 20th instant covering an Inventory of the goods lately Captured, and are sorry that your Prize Schooner had unfortunately be[en] retaken; and that the Militia instead of affording you assistance had pelfered so much of the goods you had saved. We think with you that the Bay will be the best place for your meeting with success and hope you will use your utmost diligence in getting your small Squadron speedily down there.

With regard to the Prize goods you have Captured one-half in our opinion belongs to the Continent. If it had fully appeared that the Schooner Alert was a Vessel of war and belonged to the

Crown of Great Britain, or was duely commisionated a privateer by his britannick Majesty and you had held she would have been solely the property of the Captors. We enclose herein A Resolve of Congress of the 30th of October, 1776.

As to the bounty offered by Congress for burning the Ships of War and Transports of the enemy it was confined entirely to the fire ships fitted at Philadelphia last fall. We have advanced your officer Mr. Clarkson Eight hundred Dollars for which sum we have enclosed his receipt and your are to be accountable for the same. [*Marine Committee Letter Book,* p. 135.]

April 24th, 1778.

Nicholas Vandyke, Esquire:

Captain Barry hath informed us that he hath appointed a Mr. Hall Agent in behalf of the Continent for the Prizes he took in his Cruize on the Delaware, and that when distribution should be made that Mr. Hall would deposit the Continental share in your hands. If that should be the case, and you should come to Congress soon, we wish you would bring the Money with you, or otherwise transmit the same by a Safe hand to the Navy Board at Baltimore. [*Marine Committee Letter Book,* p. 143.]

May 30th, 1778.

John Barry, Esquire:

We having appointed you to command the continental frigate Raleigh now in the Port of Boston in Massachusetts Bay, you are hereby directed to repair immediately to that place and there apply to the Honorable the Commissioners of the Continental Navy Board who will deliver up that Frigate with all her appurtenances to your care, and in due time will give you orders for your employment which orders you must obey and fullfil as far as may be in your power. [*Marine Committee Letter Book,* p. 153.]

August 24th, 1778.

Captain John Barry,
of the Frigate Raleigh:

Immediately upon receipt of these our orders you will commence on a Cruize in Company with the Continental Brigt. Resistance, Captain Bourke, between Cape Henlopen and Occracock on the Coast of North Carolina, with a view to take certain armed

Vessels fitted out by the Goodriches, or any other of the enemies Vessels that may be infesting that Coast.

As both the Raleigh and Resistance may soon be wanted to answer the purpose of Convoy, you are to manage your Cruize Assd. as that you may be ready to receive the future orders of this Committee. For this purpose you are once a week to put into Chesapeake Bay and call at the Town of Hampton, where you will find such orders lodged and you are to continue to cruize and call at Hampton in this manner until you receive our Instructions.

P.S.—You will communicate to Captain Burke these our Orders and as Senior officer will give such Instructions for the Cruize as may be necessary.

We have written to the Governor of Virginia to furnish you at Hampton with such provisions or Supplies as you and captain Bourke may want. We expect that Governor will appoint some person at Hampton to supply you—let us know by every opportunity the progress of your Cruize. [*Marine Committee L. B.*, p. 173.]

August 24th, 1778.

Captain William Bourke:

We have given orders to Captain John Barry of the Frigate Raleigh for a Cruize on the Coast in which he is to be accompanied by the Brig Resistance under your command. Captain Barry will communicate to you a Copy of our Orders and as Senior officer will give you such further Instructions as may be necessary which you are to obey. [*Marine Committee L. B.*, p. 174.]

August 28th, 1778.

Captain John Barry:

Agreeable to what we wrote you the 24th instant which Letter you will receive at Rhode Island, this will meet you at Hampton in Virginia where we hope you will get safe and you are duely to observe the following Orders.

So soon as you shall receive information from Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth Commissary General of Purchases, who will be in Virginia, that he hath any number of Vessels not less than Six, loaded and ready for the Sea, you are to proceed and take such Vessels under your Convoy and conduct them to the places of destination pointed out by the said Commissary, which having done you and Captain Burke of the Resistance are to return to your Cruizing

station directed by our Letter of the 24th instant and you are again to call in at Hampton once a week and on receiving information from the Commissary General that he hath other Vessels ready for your convoy you are to proceed with them as he shall direct. [*Marine Committee Letter Book,* p. 174.]

September 14th, 1778.

To the Commissioners of the
Navy Board, Boston.

Gentlemen:

. . . . . .

We desire you will order the Commanders of the Frigate Raleigh, Warren (Should she be returned), or the Deane and the Brigt. Resistance to proceed on a Cruize in Company between Cape Henlopen and Occracock on the Coast of North Carolina with a view to take certain armed Vessels fitted out by the Goodriches, or any other of the Enemys Vessels that may be infesting that coast. That as the Raleigh Warren or Deane and the Brig Resistance may soon be wanted to answer the purpose of Convoy, they are so to manage their Cruize as that they may be ready to receive the future orders of this Committee and for this purpose they are once a Week to put into Chesapeake Bay and call at the Town of Hampton where they will find such orders lodged, and they are to continue to Cruize and call at Hampton where they will find such orders lodged and they are to continue to cruize and call at Hampton in this manner until they receive their Instructions. [*Marine Committee Letter Book,* p. 175.]

September 28th, 1778.

Captain John Barry:

We have received your favour of the 8th instant from Boston and are sorry to hear that so many of the Guns on board the Raleigh had burst in proving but we hope they will be Speedily replaced and that you will shortly receive this letter at Hampton agreeable to our former Instructions which you acknowledge having received.

As you represent the Raleigh to be exceedingly foul and on that account very unfit to Cruize upon the Coast, we have concluded that you had best proceed with her to Portsmouth in Virginia where there is a Continental Ship Yard and on applying to our Agents there, Messrs. Maxwell and Loyal and to Mr. David Stoddart the

Master Builder in the yard they will furnish you with conveniences and lend you assistance to have her Bottom cleaned. You will advise us of the time that you think that business will be compleated, and should you not receive fresh Orders from us, you will proceed to cruize upon the Coast, and call in at Hampton once a fortnight for our Orders until you receive them. Should the frigate Deane and any other Vessel be in company with you, you will order them to cruize while you are carreening. We wish you success.

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing Instructions we have had information that the british frigate Persius of 32 Guns is cruizing Singly on the Coast of South Carolina. This intelligence had determined us to give you orders to extend your Cruizing along the Coast provided the Deane or any other Vessel is in company with you, therefore if you have a Concert as soon as you have got your Ship cleaned in Virginia, we desire you will proceed to the Southward in Search of the Persius and use your best endeavours to take, burn, sink or destroy the said frigate or any other of the enemies vessels that you may fall in with. Should you be so fortunate as to take the Persius, carry her into Charles Town and there have her fitted and manned and take her to Cruize in company with you. [*Marine Committee Letter Book*, p. 179A.]

October 25th, 1778.

Navy Board at Boston.

Gentlemen: . . . The loss of the Raleigh is certainly a very great misfortune, but we have a consolation in reflecting that the spirited and gallant behaviour of her commander has done honor to our flag—we desire that you will order a Court of enquiry on Captain Barry's conduct. Captain Harding has been appointed to the command of the Frigate at Norwich named the Confederacy which prevents our giving that Ship to Captain Barry. . . . [*Marine Committee Letter Book*, p. 184.]

November 6th, 1779.

The Commiss'rs of the Navy Board
at Boston,

Gent'n: Captain John Barry will deliver you this in his way to Portsmouth in New Hampshire where he goes to hasten the building and fitting of the New Ship on the Stocks at that place which we have appointed him to command and which we request

you will push forward with all possible expedition. [*Marine Committee Letter Book*, p. 245.]

November 6th, 1779.

Captain John Barry:

As you have been appointed to Command a New Continental Ship that is now on the Stocks at Portsmouth in New Hampshire you are hereby directed to repair to that place and hasten as much as may be in your power the compleating of that Ship which we are desirous to have done with all dispatch. We have now communicated our desire on that head to the Honble the Navy Board at Boston, on whom you will please to call in your way and receive such orders as they may think proper to give you.

Should Mr. Langdon and you Agree that any alteration can be made in this Ship that will render her more suitable than the present design, you will please to communicate your plan and a state of the ship which we shall consider. [*Marine Committee Letter Book*, p. 244.]

November 20th, 1778.

Captain John Barry:

Congress having by a Resolve dated the 10th instant directed you to take the Command of all the Armed Vessels that are to be employed on an intended expedition against east Florida, subject to the Orders of the Commander in Chief in the Southern Department, we think proper to give the following directions which you are duly to observe.

You are forthwith to proceed to Maryland, and there apply to Governor Johnston, who is requested by Congress to put under your command all the armed Gallies, that shall be manned and fitted out by that government for the expedition, and if upon your arrival you should find any of them not ready for Sea, you will then use your best endeavour to expedite their equipment with the utmost dispatch.

As Congress have also requested a Number of Gallies from the State of Virginia and as your security on the voyage to Charles Town will in some measure depend upon a junction of the Gallies from each State, it is highly requisite you should make yourself immediately Acquainted either by Letter or applying to the Governor in person, with the number of Gallies that will be fitted out

by that government, and the time they will be ready for Sea, and if those from Maryland can be equiped nearly about the same, and it is not disagreeable to the Governor of Virginia, you will then govern your measures as to form a junction of your little [fleet?] in some convenient place in Virginia from whence you will proceed to Charles Town in South Carolina.

If Virginia should not be disposed to furnish any of the Gallies for this expedition or if it should be disagreeable to either of the Governors of Maryland or Virginia that the Gallies of each State should sail in company, you will then proceed with those of the State of Maryland. If Maryland should not be in a situation to furnish and equip her Gallies for this expedition, you will then if not disagreeable to the Governor of Virginia take the command of these to be furnished by the state. You are to assist as far as lies in your power in Manning and equiping the gallies from each State, and to be careful in establishing a proper system of Signals for the government of your fleet. You are to receive from the Quarter Master General on board the Gallies from Maryland a quantity of bar Iron not exceeding ten ton.

When you arrive in Charles Town in the State of South Carolina you there receive and obey the orders of the commander in chief in the Southern Department.

We recommend you to cultivate harmony among your officers and Men as essentially necessary to the public service and trusting much to your valour and good conduct. We have strong hopes of a favourable Issue to the intended expedition.

P.S.—You are from time to time to give us full information of your proceedings.

November 20th, 1779.

Captain John Barry:

Agreeable to your desire we have appointed Captain George Jerry Osborne to command the Marines on board your ship, but as it will be a considerable time before there is occasion to raise his men, we have been so early in his appointment on the principle of his being useful in doing matters relative to the Ship until that time, which you will please to Observe and employ him occasionally in such business as you may think proper. [*Marine Committee Letter Book*, p. 247.]

September 5th, 1780.

Captain John Barry:

The Board have appointed you to the command of the Continental frigate Alliance now in the Port of Boston. You are therefore directed to repair thither as soon as possible, and when you arrive apply to the Honble the Commissioners of the Navy Board of that Department who will give you directions for your conduct in filling and preparing the Alliance for Sea with all possible dispatch. [*Marine Committee Letter Book,* p. 328.]

September 12th. 1780.

Navy Board at Boston.

Gentlemen:

. . . . . .

The Board having lately appointed Captain John Barry to the command of the Alliance, he in company with Mr. Ellery a member of this Board set off for Boston on Sunday morning, with whom you will consult on the requisites necessary for fitting the Alliance—in the interim we shall represent to Congress the purport of your several letters and use our utmost exertions to obtain you relief. [*Marine Committee Letter Book,* p. 330.]

Navy Board, Eastern Department,
November 10, 1780.

To John Barry, Esq., Captain and Commander in the Navy of the United States of America:

Whereas a Court of Enquiry was held on board the Ship Alliance, for Examining into the Conduct of Peter Landais, Esqr., Captain and Commander of the said Ship on her passage and immediately previous to her Sailing from L'Orient and also into the Conduct of the other officers and Crew of said Ship and the said Court of Enquiry have given it as their opinion that a Court Martial is Necessary to be held for the Trial of Lieutenant James Degge, whether he has or has not Unjustifiably revolted from said Landais' Authority and unjustifiably disobeyed said Landais and usurped the Command of said Ship during the Voyage aforesaid.

We do therefore by Virtue of the power and Authority with which we are vested hereby order and direct that a Court Martial be called for that purpose, which Court Martial We do hereby appoint, to consist of you the aforesaid John Barry as—President,

of Hoystead Hacker, Samuel Nicholson, and Henry Johnson, Esqrs., Captains, in the said Navy or any two of them with the President and of Silas Devol, Patrick Fletcher, and Nicholas E. Gardner Lieutenant in the said Navy, and Samuel Pritchard Lieut. of Marines in the said Navy, who together are to Constitute the said Court Martial, to Sit on board the Continental Ship Alliance now lying in the harbour of Boston, on Tuesday the twenty-first day of November Instant, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, with power to Adjourn from time to time and place to place as occasions may require. And the said Court Martial being so Constituted and met, at time and place aforesaid and qualified Agreeable to the Resolutions of Congress, are to Consider and thoroughly Examine the Conduct of the said James Degge, whether he has or has not Unjustifiably disobeyed, said Landais, and usurped the Command of said Ship during the voyage aforesaid, and previous to her Sailing from L'Orient, and hear and Consider the report of the said Court of Enquiry, and all such other matters and informations as shall then be brought before them touching the said Degges Conduct and behaviour during the voyage aforesaid, and immediately previous to her Sailing and Since her arrival here, and on proper Evidence to Try determine, and make up Judgment on the said James Degge, according to the Rules of Naval discipline and the Articles for the regulation of the American Navy, and if in any respect he be found Guilty to pass Sentence Accordingly, which Sentence you are to return to us with the Evidences and other papers had before you.

And you are hereby Authorized and impowred to order and direct, the Attendance of any Master at Arms, Sergents of Marines, or of any other officer and Seaman of the said Navy, who may be wanted as an Attendant on your said Court, and also to Summon such Witnesses as you may Suppose able to give Testimony in this matter, and for so doing this shall be to you and each of you members of said Court Martial hereby Appointed and all others concerned, a Sufficient Warrant, Given under our hands at Boston this Tenth day of November, Anno Dom One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty. In the fifth Year of the Independence of the United States of America.

I. Warren,
Wm. Vernon.

[*Papers of the Continental Congress,* No. 193, 757.]

Boston, July 25, 1781.

Gents.: It is with pleasure I acquaint you honours that I am allmost recovered of my wound and I hope in 3 or 4 days to be able to attend my duty for I find my presence very requisite there being only one Liet. and the Master on board both of them good Officers. Cap't Hacker and Several Officers left the Ship by permission from [the] Honle. Navy Board during my Illness. However I am Satisfied, as I am confident there places can be as well filled. The Master John Buckley have being in the Ship ever since She was launched, he acted as second Liet. from the 11 of July, 1779, till her arrivel in Boston last year. He having an attachment to the Service and his views different from many others he resumed the Office of Master When I took the Comd. and in that Station Behaved as a good and faithful Officer.

The Ship having but one Liet. on board and none here at present but one Who is a very Young man and in my opinion not fit to comd. men like Buckley but he may make a tolerable 3 Liet. Mr. Buckley has made application to me as his friend to use my interest to get him appointed a Lieutenant on board the Ship.

If my assuring the Honle. the Admiralty that he was the best Officer I had in the Ship last Cruize will be of any Service to him I can on my hon[or] declare it. Should your Honours think proper to grant him a Commission your dateing it from his being appointed an Acting Liet. will much Oblige.

Gentn.,
Your most Obedient
and very Humle. Sert..

John Barry.

[*Papers of Continental Congress*, 78, Vol. IV, p. 249.]

History is the essence of innumerable biographers. [Carlyle.]

CHAPLAINS OF THE FRENCH NAVY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

From "*Les Combattans Francais de la Guerre Americaine* 1778-1783," published at Paris in 1903, the annexed list of Chaplains of the French co-operating with the American forces in the American Revolution is compiled:

In the fleet of Comte D'Estaing [born 1729, died 28th April, 1794] on the LE LANGUEDOC: Seraphin Bandol [Recollet] and —— Marazel [1778-9].

LE ZELE, March, 1778-December, 1779: Stanislaus Roux [Recollet], Bernardy Daumas.

LE FANTASQUE, 1778-9: Urbain Ardouvin [Recollet].

LE MAGNIFIQUE, 1782: —— Casimir [Capuchin]—Durandeau, 1782, Bourdy [Recollet].

LE TONNANT, 1778-80: Wenceslas Signoret [Recollet].

LE PROTECTEUR, March, 1778: Policarpe Rochansson [Recollet].

LE FIER, June, 1778-July, 1780: —— Aime; Alexis De Brussic.

LA PROVENCE, March, 1728-December, 1779: Gabriel De Lorme.

L' ARTESIEN, 1778-1781: Jean-Francois Darguene; De La Baronnais.

LA GUERRIER, April, 1778: Giraud.

L' AMPHION Religieux Bernardin Fortin: Cordelier Grandmougin.

LE MARSEILLAIS, 1778-9: Simeon Morel [Recollet].

LE CESAR, 1778-9: Bonice [Recollet].

LE VENGEUR, 1778-1781: Victor Pichet; Cordelier Perrot.

L' ANNIBAL, 1779-1781: Cordelier Quernel, Abbe Maccabe.

LA PRUDENTE, May, 1778-June, 1779: Andre Corson-Dupont.

LA CONCORDE, January, 1778-March, 1779: Gabriel Montillet.

LA CHIMERE, March, 1778-March, 1780: Valerian Durand, —— La Roghe [Roche].

L' ALOMENE, 1778-1779: Jean Francois Quentin, Elzeard Bonnaud.

L' ELOURDIE, 1778-9: Felix [Recollet].

L'AIMABLE, 1778-9: Damaze [Recollet].

L' ANDROMAQUE, April 15th, 1778-July 14th, 1779: Roger Morisson.

La Blanche, 1778-9: De Saint Xavier [Carmelite].

Le Fendant, 1778-1781: Nicholas, Capuchin died on board.

FLEET OF COMTE DE GRASSE.

La Ville-De Paris, 1781-2: Firmin, Capuchin d' Amiens; Benigne, Carmelite.

L' Aigrette, September 12th, 1781-March 31st, 1782: Morin [Capuchin].

Le Diademe, February, 1779-January, 1781: Remy, Capuchin died 25th August, 1779; Picard Durando [Carmelite]. Augustin Aumon.

L' Engageante, January, 1781-January, 1782: Eyssierre.

La Concorde, January, 1781-May, 1782: Celestin Bureau.

Le Magnanime, March, 1781-September, 1782: Stanislaus.

L' Ivelly: Abbe Bartholome Omahony.

Le Northumberland: Abbe Baraticiard.

La Scipion, March, 1781-October, 1781: L' Abbe Roux.

La Sceptre, January, 1781-April, 1783: Tibure Cloupet.

La Couronne et Le Pluton, October, 1781-June, 1783: Abbe Macabe, Abbe Boucher.

La Bourgogne, 1781-3: Onesime, Capuchin, Noye dans le Naufrage du 4 February, 1783. [Drowned in the wreck of February 4th, 1783.]

Le Glorieux, 1781-2: —— Zephirin [Capuchin].

Le Caton, 1779-1782: Abbe Le Sr Renedy.

L' Auguste, 1781-1783: Dorothe [Capuchin], Morel [Premontre]. Charles Joseph Prospere, Chanome seculier de Roubaiy.

L' Hector, 1781-2: Bernardin De Villars [Capuchin]; Abbe Potterie, secular; Abbe Mornay, secular.

Le Sagittaire, January, 1781-September, 1782: Bernady Damase [Recollet]; Barnabe [Capuchin died July 9th, 1781]; Frederic [Capuchin, de Bourges].

Le Saint Esprit, 1781-2: Bertiminieux; Morel [Premontre]; Bonice Thomas [Recollet].

L' Amazone, 1781-2-3: John Machung [probably MacKeon].

L'Experiment, April, 1780--August, 1783: Bonice Tancas.

FLEETS UNDER COMTES DE GUICHEN AND DE GRASSE.

L' Indien, devenu La Reflichy, 1780-2: Dieudonne [Capuchin]; Dupont [Cap.]; Sebastian De Rosey [Cap.]; Panous [Cap.].

Le Marseillais, 1781-2: Damas [Recollet].

Le Citoyen, 1781-3: Dieudonne [Cap.]; Damas [Cap.].

L'Actionnaire, 1779-1781: Jean Francois De Villefranche.

Le Vaillant, 1781-2: Marc [Cap.].

Le Souverain, September, 1779-January, 1881: Le Sr Moullet

L'Hercules, March, 1781-June, 1783: Severin Calvet, Rene Potier.

FLEET OF COMTE DE TERNAY—ARMY OF ROCHAMBEAU.

Le Duc De Bourgogne, 1780-3: Querusle; Meurnay.

Le Jason, 1779-1781: Didier; Jerome Audibert.

Le Jason, 1780-1782: Abbe Dowd, of Ireland; Frederic, Capuchin, of Bourges; Maurice, Capuchin.

La Provence, 1780-2: Le Roy [Recollet].

L'Eveille, March, 1781-September, 1782: Roger Morrisson.

Le Conquerant, January, 1780-August, 1782: Abbe Routel.

L'Ardent, April, 1780-April, 1782: Germain; Athanase Surigneau.

Le Neptune, February, 1780-June, 1783: Abbe Meurnai; Queruche; Jean [John] Wanton, [American priest]; Francis Hobdai, [American priest]; Abbe Potterie [secular priest].

Few of these French priests have any other identity that has become known than the above record. Father Seraphin Bandol, became the Chaplain to the French Ministers Gerard and Luzerne. There are several records of baptisms and marriages at which he officiated in Philadelphia, to be found on the register at old St. Joseph's or in the transcripts printed in *The Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* Vols. I-II.

Father Bandol preached the sermon at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, July 4th, 1779, the first distinctively Catholic celebration of the day. It was arranged for by the French Minister as an aid to securing and strengthening Catholic favor towards the Revolution.

The Abbe Bandol also preached the sermon at St. Mary's, November 4th, 1781, at the *Te Deum* celebration on the victory of Yorktown.

I have no doubt that he either celebrated Mass or preached at St. Mary's on May 8th, 1780, when there was a Requiem Mass for the soul of Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish Agent, by the direction of Luzerne, the French Minister. Though not named on that or on the occasions of the celebrations of the birth of the Dauphin

and the Union of the States in the Confederacy, Abbe Bandol may be considered the celebrant or the preacher as both commemorative services, were by direction of Luzerne.

So, historically, he is the best known of all the French Chaplains.

Father Valerian Durand, Chaplain of La Chimere, was, on October 10th, 1778, at Chester, Pa., when and where he baptized Elizabeth, daughter of John and Bridget Scantlen. He so recorded in the register now at St. Joseph's and to his name signed O. S. F., but Franciscan records available in this country show nothing relating to him. The baptismal record is the only known reference to or by him in this country now known.

We may all agree that Abbes Maccabe, Roger Morrison, Bartholomew Omahony, John Machuney, Abbe Dowd, of Ireland, were Irishmen.

Abbe Poterie, of *L'Hector* and the *Le Neptune*, became the founder of the Church in Boston.

But the revelation of the list is the names of two American priests, Fathers John Wanton and Francis Hobdai, as Chaplains of *Le Neptune*. These are new names of priests in American Colonial or Revolutionary history. It is the only mention of them I ever met. Who were they?

Possibly Wanton was John Watkins, who, in May, 1779, was, by Capt. Pierre Landais, the French commander of the United States frigate The Alliance, requested to act as Chaplain of that ship. This I find in *The Calendar of Manuscripts of John Paul Jones,* page 117, now in the Library of Congress.

But Father Watkins is equally a mystery, who was he?

It is singular to note that all the chaplains are named as officers on ships. In the list of officers and privates of the army given in the work not a Regiment of the French forces appears to have had a chaplain—not one. Yet it is known that a few, at least, did service on the land on the March of Rochambeau's army from Rhode Island to Yorktown, especially in Rhode Island and in Connecticut.

Each French vessel, except two small cutters, had a Chaplain.

The list contains names of ninety priests, of whom seventeen were Capuchins; thirteen Recollets; four Seculars; three Carmelites; two Premontarians.

Abbe La Poterie, Chaplain of *Le Neptune,* became the founder of the Church in Boston, but otherwise had not a creditable record

He belonged to the Diocese of Angers in France, had a family income of over £100 per annum, was expelled from the Diocese of Paris, went to Rome and Naples, and ran off from both cities without paying his lodging.

A Jesuit interested in Catholic American historical research has kindly sent us this contribution:

CHAPLAINS OF THE FRENCH FLEET DURING THE WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The French Ministry for Foreign Affairs has published recently a volume entitled: "Les Combattants Francais de la Guerre Americaine, 1778-1783"—The Roster is given of the officers and enlisted men in the French Fleets and Army, which participated in the Revolutionary War. These forces were accompanied by Chaplains, whose names are given. The vessels of the Fleet had regularly appointed Chaplains (Aumoniers), but none are mentioned in connection with the land forces. Some of the larger vessels have three, four, or five Chaplains assigned to them; it may be that these ships were employed as transports, and that some of the Chaplains credited to them were afterwards employed with the soldiers in the field.

Bandol (R. P. Seraphin), Recollet.—Chaplain of *Le Languedoc.*

He is known for the "Address delivered to Congress, the Supreme Executive Council, and the Assembly of Pennsylvania, etc., etc., who were invited by his Excellency, the Minister of France, to attend in the Roman Catholic Church of Philadelphia, during the celebration of Divine Service and thanksgiving for the capture of Lord Cornwallis." The Address was printed, November, 1781. He was at that time Chaplain to Mr. Gerard, the French Minister, to which position he must have been appointed at an earlier date, as he preached the sermon, July 4, 1779. "at noon, in the new Catholic Chapel" (St. Mary's), Philadelphia, to celebrate the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States. The invitations on that occasion were issued by Mr. Gerard, and the printed address, facsimile of the French original and English translation, may be found in Shea's "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll," pp. 172-177. He was a Franciscan, signing himself *Le Reverend Pere Seraphin Bandol, Recollet,* as he is entered upon the Navy Register; but, he is generally known as the *Abbe Bandol,*

and so subscribes himself, in the later Address. He remained attached to the French Embassy, until 1788, when he returned to France, bearing letters from Rev. Dr. Carroll to the Nuncio at Paris. Until the transfer of the Embassy to New York, the Abbe Bandol had evidently officiated from time to time at St. Joseph's, since Father Farmer, in March, 1785, seems to regret the loss of his aid, when he announces that the Abbe was to sail to Europe in the next month. He remained in America about ten years.

De Rosey (R. P. Sebastien), Capuchin. Chaplain on board *L'Indien,* afterwards *Le Reflechy.*—He remained in America, after the War, or returned, and performed missionary work for years in the country districts of Maryland. The name is given sometimes as *Deroset, Duroscy,*—and *Durosier,* by Shea, who, in the only mention which he makes of him, says that "he was a priest from St. Domingo." In the Register and Diary of Bohemia, it is mentioned that *Mr. Deroset* was there, February 13, 1797.—At a Meeting of the Corporation of the Clergy of Maryland, held at Whitemarsh, April 25, 1804, it was resolved "that Rev. Mr. *Durozey* be entitled to the £30 from the first day of current year."—Rev. Mr. *De Rosey* is credited in the Account Book of Father Francis Neale, S.J., Procurator of the Clergy Fund, with "cash $80," salary for the years 1805 and 1806. The Diary of Brother Mobberly, S.J., Says: "During the lifetime of the Rev'd Mr. *De Rosey*, Pastor of St. Nicholas' Congregation, we paid him $80 per annum." He died at St. Nicholas', December 27, 1813, and is buried near the Church; a tablet, inside the Church, is the only memorial of his long and almost forgotten services. Brother Mobberly says of him: "During my residence at St. Inigoes in St. Mary's County (1806-1812), we were deprived of a Pastor for nearly two years. Meantime, we were obliged to go to St. Nicholas' Church, on the Patuxent River, a distance of fourteen miles. After a few months the Rev. Mr. De Rosey, a French gentleman, and Pastor of St. Nicholas', agreed to give us church once a month at St. Inigoes' Church, until we could be furnished with a Pastor. He was a Franciscan Friar, and, I believe, a very worthy man. He was a small man, about 81 years of age, and yet he was nearly as active as a boy. He was cheerful and agreeable. He was zealous, and kept his congregation in good order." Father De Rosey died intestate. His property was devoted by the State of Maryland to help founding Charlotte Hall School, an Academy still existing in St. Mary's County, which has

not been distinguished for liberality to the Religion of the pious old Franciscan.

Abbe MACCABE, of *L'Annibal;* ROGER MORRISON, of *L'Andromaque* (Pretre-Aumonier); OMAHONEY (*Abbe Bartholome,* of *L'Ivelly;* and DOWD (Abbe), of *Le Jason:*—the names indicate the nationality of these Chaplains. In the case of the last mentioned, *Irlandais* is appended.

Le Neptune (p. 215) must have been a large ship, as more than six hundred names are borne upon her rolls. Five Chaplains are assigned, and there is the remarkable circumstance, that two of them, *John Wanton* and *Francis Hobdai,* are described as *American Priests.* The large number of Chaplains may be accounted for, perhaps, in this way: that the *Neptune* was employed as a transport ship, and that some of the Chaplains were to be detailed for service with the land forces—especially as the Army lists give no names of Chaplains. *John Wanton and Francis Hobdai* were certainly not Priests of the American, *i.e.,* English-speaking Provinces, or States. We have full and accurate Catalogues of all the Clergy in Pennsylvania and Maryland, in which alone were there any Catholic Priests at this date. The word American was used in a broad sense, and in this case it probably signified that these two Priests were obtained from some of the French possessions in the West Indies, as the Fleet of the Count de Grasse had been operating in those waters, and some of the Regiments had been drafted from the French Islands, San Domingo, Martinique, etc.

Another name appears among the Chaplains of the Neptune: POTTERIE (Abbe), Secular Priest. It may be that he is identified with the Abbe de la Poterie, who opened the first Catholic Church at Boston, in 1788,—and was subsequently suspended by Dr. Carroll.

There are several Priests, known in American Catholic history, to have been Chaplains of the French forces, whose names are not to be found in these published records. No mention is made of Rev. *Charles Whelan,* a Franciscan, who came to New York, and had charge of Missions in Kentucky and elsewhere; he was Pastor of Wilmington, Del., and is buried at Bohemia, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Rev. *Henry de la Motte,* an Augustinian, is not mentioned. He was captured on a vessel belonging to the French naval forces, and brought a prisoner to New York. He was arrested by the British authorities and confined in prison, for the crime of saying

Mass before the few Catholics of that city. Afterwards, he went to Maine, to minister to the Catholic Tribes of that district. The Rev. *Paul de St. Pierre,* a discalced Carmelite, is also omitted from the lists.

I do not think anything can be gained by consulting the French Jesuit authorities for the period of the American Revolution. The Society was suppressed at that time and had been expelled from France at another date; so the records are wanting.

I have the learned work of F. Vivier "Catalogus Assistentia Galliae." 1762-1768. It gives interesting information about the Jesuits in various parts of America in those years, but Wanton and Hobdai are not in the lists. I hardly think they could have come from Canada; they certainly did not come from the English-speaking Provinces. There are some of the officers of the fleet who are credited to Mobile, but I think that Louisiana may be reasonably excluded, as the Priests there were few and generally Religious: French or Spanish. Hence I conclude the *American* means from the West Indies. Still it is a nice point for research.

OUR FLAG A CATHOLIC FLAG.

A feature of our Flag, long neglected, if known, is the fact that the red, white and blue flag is a Catholic flag. If you go to Rome, or other parts of Italy, and see a child in a nurse's arms, note the ribbons each wears. If these are red the child is a boy, dedicated to St. Joseph, whose colors are red. If the ribbons are blue, the child is a girl, dedicated to our Blessed Lady. Her color is blue. The flag of the Church, the Papal Flag, the flag of Christ, the flag of peace, of Time, is a white flag. The Church is for these flags, Christ's flag, the flag of peace, of Time; so in a large sense the red, white and blue flag is a Catholic flag. Let Liberty be endangered, let Law leave us for lawlessness, let revolutionists try to tear down and trample on that flag, legions of Catholics, who love it for the fathers who fought for it, who love it for what it offers of ideals and purposes, who love it for what it purports and promises, will march in legions to its defense. [Prof. J. C. Monahan in *St. John's Quarterly,* Jan., 1910.]

CHAPLAINS OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The *Les Combattans Francais de la Guerre Americaine* does not contain the list of Chaplains of the Regiments or Battalions of the French Army under Rochambeau. Twelve Chaplains of the French forces attended the interment of Admiral De Ferney at Newport, Rhode Island.

ABBÉ ROBIN.

The Abbé Robin, of Rochambeau's Army, came with Count de Barras, successor of Admiral Ferney, arriving at Boston, May 6, 1781. [*French Allies,* p. 400.] He wrote an account of his tour under the title: NOUVEAU VOYAGE DANS L'AMERIQUE, SEPTENTRINALE EN L'ARMÉE, 1781; ET CAMPAGNE DE L'ARMÉE DU COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU. PAR M. L'ABBÉ ROBIN, 1782.

Abbé Robin officiated at Baltimore at the request of the Catholics there. His VIII Letter, September 14, 1781, is interesting to Catholic readers. A Dutch translation was published in Amsterdam, in 1782. An English translation was, in 1783, printed at Philadelphia by Robert Bell, and in 1784 at Boston by Powars and Wills under the title:

> New Travels through North America in a Series of Letters: Exhibiting the History of the Victorious Campaign of the Allied Armies, under His Excellency, General Washington and the Count de Rochambeau in the year 1781. Interspersed with Political and Philosophical Observations upon the Genius, Temper and Customs of the Americans. Also, Narrations of the Capture of General Burgoyne, and Lord Cornwallis, with their Armies, and a Variety of Interesting Particulars which Occurred in the Course of the War in America.

Philip Freneau, "the poet of the Revolution," was the translator.

Abbé Robin is known to have celebrated Mass at Hartford, Woodbury in Connecticut and at Baltimore, Maryland.

Claude Blanchard's *Diary* records that at a military hospital twenty leagues from Providence, Rhode Island, Rochambeau, on July 13, 1780, "came to hear Mass at the hospital and visit the sick." Also that on September 2d, Indians who had, on July 29th, come from the Falls of St. Louis near Albany and "asked to hear Mass,"

and others who had "asked for a priest" were sent "a Capuchin who was the Chaplain of one of the vessels."

This was Father de la Motte.

Abbé Colin de Sepvigny was one of the Chaplains. He is mentioned as such in Diary of Rev. Dr. Stiles, March 2, 1781.

ABBÉ BERTHOLET.

Another known Chaplain of Rochambeau's army was the Abbé Bertholet. His name appears in the list of passengers who were granted free transportation and going to join Comte de Rochambeu's army. His companions were Chevalier de Gueyssat, Captain of Infantry; Vicomte de Tressan, Captain in Saintonge Regiment; Captain de Macors de Vassomont, 2d Lieutenant of Artillery; Caumont de Marty, Lieutenant in the Soissonnois Regiment. [*Can. Ar.*, 1905, p. 440.]

The *Diary* of Claude Blanchard, Commissary General of the French Army, mentions that Abbé Glesnon and Abbé Lacy were Chaplains at Hospitals when the French army was in Rhode Island in 1780 and in 1782.

Father John Rossiter, who for many years was one of the pastors at St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, is also mentioned as having been a Chaplain in the French army, but nothing has been discovered to verify this statement. Father St. Paul de St. Pierre, a German Carmelite, is also known to have been a Chaplain of the French forces.

FATHER ST. PAUL DE ST. PIERRE.

On July 19, 1783, Father Farmer, of Philadelphia, wrote Father Carroll about a Carmelite Friar who had come to Virginia with the French troops, saying:

"With regard to the Carmelite Friar all I can say of him is this: No sooner did he arrive in Virginia with the French troops than he wrote a letter to me desiring to stay in the Mission, and therefore inquired where to obtain faculties for that purpose. When I pressed him last Fall to stay with the French Consul in Virginia,—he having a yearly pension from the Queen of France is under obligations to take up his abode where some French are—excused himself by saying he being immediately under the Consul would not be so free to serve the people, but oblige them to attend him and his hours. The Capuchin of New York has contracted a

friendship with him last Fall in the West Indies and speaks high of him." [RESEARCHES, 1888, 28.]

More than a year later the Carmelite came to Philadelphia. By Father Farmer he was given a letter to Rev. John Carroll who had just received appointment as Superior:

PHILADA., October 9, 1784.

Rd. Sir—The Bearer being already known to yr Reverence needs not my commendation. Wn he arrived during the War he immediately by letter signify'd to me his desire to be a Missionary in these parts. He designs to fix himself at the Illinois. I see no reason why I should not be glad of his zele, not why yr reverence should not grant him necessary faculties servatis servandis. [*Balto. Archives.*]

On August 11, 1785, Father Farmer wrote Father Carroll that Father Paul, the Carmelite Friar was in Illinois and had applied for faculties: "I can at least send him the welcome news of a jubilee with the forms usually annexed to it."

August 11, 1785, Father Farmer wrote to Father Carroll, "the New York Congregation had sent a letter to R. F. Paul, the Carmelite which he enclosed. He that brought his letter is to return by the 14th of this month and expects in about six weeks to be at the Illinois."

But Father Paul remained at Kaokias three years. On May 1, 1787, he applied to be appointed to the parish of St. Genevieve on the western side of the Mississippi, as many of his parishioners had established themselves on that side and he hoped others would follow them where "a new establishment had been begun a little below the entrance of the Beautiful River" [Ohio] and the people would "need a priest who knows English and German." He signed, "Descalsed Carmelite of Germany, Missionary."

He was appointed as he desired. He was there in 1796, perhaps later. But in 1804 was at Iberville, Louisiana, and there he died October 15, 1826, age 81 years.

REV. CHARLES WHELAN, O.S.F.

He was a Chaplain in Rochambeau's Army. After the war he in October, 1784, came to New York, though he had, in July, 1783, through Father Farmer, of Philadelphia, more than a year before

applied to Rev. John Carroll. On arrival at New York he was received by the congregation of St. Peter's, though faculties had not been granted him by Father Carroll.

Father Farmer, on November 8, 1784, informed Father Carroll that Whelan had arrived "a few weeks ago," that he had "ability and good credentials, but has too great presumption and acts as if he had legal powers." Father Farmer advised that he be given "faculties for a time at least."

Father Whelan came to Philadelphia and, probably, went to Baltimore to see Father Carroll. He was in Philadelphia in February, 1785, as on the 21st Father Farmer wrote Father Carroll that Whelan was "going to New York next April."

He did so and soon was "going about among Protestants begging subscriptions for the building a chapel," though he intended to ask from Congress a pass to go to the Illinois where his great friend, Father Paul, Carmelite, had gone in May, 1785 Father Whelan had "great encouragement from the residents of Illinois and by August had obtained a pass from the President of Congress."

On August 11, 1785, Father Farmer wrote Father Carroll: "Mr. Whelan is not liked by the brethren and does not for want of eloquence seem able to establish a congregation out of a people who had almost lost or forgot their religion." So he thought it "advisable that he might" go to the Illinois is "as French is more ready to him."

But he did not at once go west. Disturbances began in the congregation at New York where Father Nugent also served. Some "extreme and improper steps" were taken by the Trustees, though they and Father Whelan had the "great misconception," wrote Father Carroll on January 25, 1786, that the officiating clergyman at New York is a parish priest whereas there is yet no such office in the United States, as the "hierarchy of the American Church" was "not yet constituted. Clergymen who came to the assistance of the faithful are but voluntary laborers in the vineyard of Christ."

The Trustees desired the removal of Father Whelan and that Father Nugent might succeed him. Father Carroll informed them that it is "out of my power to employ him" and that he could not revoke Father Whelan's faculties and leave the congregation without assistance when "neither his morals, his orthodoxy or his

assiduity have been impeached, and no assurance even that a majority of the congregation desired his removal."

Father Carroll, however, declared that as soon as he had the power to do so he would appoint Father Nugent to "act as your joint-Chaplain, as the idea of a parish priest is not admissable." He disapproved of the address of Father Whelan which they had sent him copy of, but counselled them not to resort to the law "to rid yourselves of Mr. Whelan," as they had threatened.

On February 12th Father Whelan left New York on a visit to his brother [Dr. Joseph Whelan], 45 miles beyond Albany, at Crawford in Orange County. He returned at Easter Week. In 1790 Father Whelan was located at Johnstown, New York, but later in the year was sent by Bishop Carroll to Kentucky, but soon returned without his permission. In 1799 he was at St. Mary's Church, Wilmington, Delaware, and attended the Missions at Willcox's [now Ivy Mills] near West Chester, Pennsylvania. In January, 1800, he was at Mill Creek Hundred, Delaware, and in February, 1803, was located at White Clay Creek, later known as Coffee Run. He was transferred to Bohemia, Maryland. The Register of that Church contains this record:

1806, March 21st—Died at head of Little Bohemia, Rev. Charles Whelan, of the Order of St. Francis, formerly Chaplain in the French Navy and lately Rector at White Clay Creek [in Delaware]. Father Whelan was about 65 years. His remains were interred near those of Rev. Stephen Faure at the east end of Bohemia Church. [*Records A. C. H. Society*, Dec., 1905, p. 363.]

ABBÉ RAYNAL.

Another French Chaplain connected with Rochambeau's army was the Abbé W. T. F. Raynal who, later, does not, religiously, merit our consideration for worthiness owing to his philosophical aberations on Religion. Serving in the French army as the religious director of those assisting our Country in its endeavor for Liberty and Independence he merits a brief narration of his career. Paul Wentworth, a secret agent of England, in writing to the Earl of Wentworth from Amsterdam on 1st of August, 1777, stated:

"I was not quite disappointed in my expectations of being able to draw some opinions from the Duke de la Vauguyon's conversation, of the system of Versailles, though the Company being large,

the Abbé Rainal's approaching too frequently gave interruptions." [Stevens *Fac-similes,* 186.]

Near the end of the year, 1777, Monsieur Favier, reporting concerning Wentworth, as we learn from document in the French archives [Stevens, No. 1812], stated:

"The people he sees most, according to his statements, without any questioning on my part, are some bankers and merchants, M. de Sarzfield and the Abbé Raynal. The latter, as is known, is a great fanatic of insurrections, or at least, he plays the part (for the gentlemen very often have an enthusiasm got up for the occasion, combined and calculated for the general views of the sect, or for objects personal to the declaiming individual). This Abbé is always very eager for information and knowledge, and for the thoughts and views to put into maxims or systems in his new edition of the great *Philosophical History.* My Englishman is an *American by birth* and perhaps he amuses himself by allowing the Abbé to think that he is an *insurgent,* as he has wit and understanding, and is really very well informed on American affairs. His connection must be very precious to the philosophical historian. It cannot be useless to the objects, whatever they are, of the traveller. This Abbé passes, in many people's minds, for an oracle in politics; he is listened to and consulted; and from all his connections with people in office there results for him the advantage of being acquainted with many things by confidence which are dropped, directly or indirectly, and which the Anglo-American must be very eager to pick up."

In 1777 the Abbé made a tour of England and reported his observations to Arthur Lee, one of the American Commissioners to France, who on September 7th so reported to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Continental Congress. [Sparks' *Corres. Revolution,* II, p. 96, Ed. 1829.]

On the Abbé's return to France after the Revolution he published *The Revolution in America.* He thus speaks of the sentiments of the Bostonians:

"At Boston the acrid and ardent spirit is more and more exalted. The cry of Religion adds force to that of Liberty. The houses of worship re-echo with the most violent exhortations against England. It was without doubt an interesting spectacle for Philosophy, to see that even in churches at the foot of altars, where superstition has so often blessed the chains of nations, where priests

have often flattered tyrants, Liberty lifted up her voice in defence of the privileges of an oppressed people; and if it can be imagined that the Deity vouchsafes to look down upon the unhappy wranglings of men, it was better pleased, undoubtedly, to see its sanctuary consecrated to this use and hymns to Liberty make a part of the worship by which it was addressed. These exhortations of the preachers must have had a great effect; for when a free people invokes Heaven against oppression, it soon has recourse to arms."

Abbé Raynal concludes:

"Ye people of North America, let the example of all the nations who have gone before you, and above all, that of your mother country, serve you for instruction. Dread the affluence of gold, which brings with luxury the corruption of manners, the contempt of laws, Dread a too unequal distribution of riches, which exhibit a small number of citizens in opulence, and a great multitude of citizens in extreme poverty; whence springs the insolence of the former and the debasement of the latter. Secure yourselves against the spirit of conquest. The tranquility of an empire diminishes in proportion to its extension. Have arms for your defence; have none for offence. Seek competency and health in labour; prosperity in the culture of lands and the workings of industry; power and good manners in virtue. Cause arts and sciences which distinguish the civilized man from the savage, to flourish and abound. Above all watch carefully over the education of your children. It is from public schools, be assured, that come the wise magistrates; the well trained and courageous soldiers, the good fathers, the good husbands, the good brothers, the good friends, the good men. Wherever the youth are seen depraved, the nation is on the decline. Let Liberty have an immovable foundation in the wisdom of your laws, and let it be the indissoluble cement to bind your provinces together. Establish no legal preference amongst the different forms of worship. Superstition is innocent, wherever it is neither persecuted nor protected; and may your duration, if it be possible, equal the duration of the world."

Regarding calling England "the Mother Country," Abbé Raynal had said in prior argument as to the claims made by England against the Colonies when it said *"We are the Mother Country."* "What! Always the most sacred names to serve as a veil to interest and ambition! The Mother Country! Fulfill the duties of it then. Besides, colonies are formed of different nations,

amongst which some will grant, other refuse you this appellation; and all will with one voice tell you: There is a time when the authority of parents over their children ceases; and this time is when the children are able to take care of themselves. What term have you fixed for setting us free? Be candid, and you will allow that you had promised yourselves to be able to hold us in a wardship or minority which should never end; if, indeed, this wardship were not to have been changed into an insupportable constraint; if our advantage were not for ever to be sacrificed to yours; if we were not to have suffered a multitude of those minor oppressions which togther swell to a bulk most burdensome to bear, from the governors, the judges, the collectors and the military, whom you send us; if the greatest part of them, at their arrival in our climate, were not to have brought with them, blasted characters, ruined fortunes, rapacious hands, and the insolence of subaltern tyrants, who, tired in their own country with obeying laws, come to requite themselves in a new world by the too frequent exercise of an arbitrary power.

"Your are the mother country; but so far from encouraging, you dread our progress, bind our hands, and repress and stifle our growing strength."

He had written in favor of the Colonists, encouraged them in rebellion, warned them not to allow themselves to be represented in Parliament or their chains and fetters would be worse; but he had said it would be absurd to give them Independence. They could not govern themselves. It would burst the bonds of religion, of oaths, of law. They would become a dangerous, tumultuous military power; they would menace the peace of Europe. They would try to seize the French and Spanish possessions in the West Indies. The moment the laws of Britain were withdrawn both continents of America would tremble under such unscrupulous tyrants. [Fisher's *True His. Rev.*, 212.]

See *The Sentiments of a Foreigner on the Disputes of Great Britain with America,* Philadelphia, 1774, translated from the *Philosophical and Political History of European Settlements in America*, by the Abbé Raynal.

"Washington, writing to Richard Henderson, a gentleman who had forwarded certain queries which had been sent him from Scotland by persons proposing to emigrate to America, said [19 June, 1788], in speaking of certain publications relating to the United

States: "As to the European publications respecting the United States, they are commonly very defective. The Abbé Raynal is quite erroneous." [Sparks' *Corres.*, IX, p. 386.]

BATTLE LOSSES OF THE REVOLUTION.

According to a report made to the United States House of Representatives by Hon. Isaac A. B. Sherwood, there were fifty-five battles or skirmishes during the Revolutionary War or eight a year. In seventeen of these battles the losses were:

Killed at Lexington, Mass., April 19, 1775	50
Killed at Ticonderoga, N. Y., May 10, 1775	5
Killed at Norfolk, Va., December 9, 1775	1
Killed at For Moultrie, S. C., June 25, 1776	10
Killed at White Plains, N. Y., October 28, 1776	0
Missing	300
Killed at Trenton, N. J., December 26, 1776	0
Wounded and missing	9
Killed at Princeton, N. J., June 3, 1777	100
Wounded and missing	300
Killed at Bennington, Vt., August 16, 1777	Unknown
Wounded and missing	150
Killed at Brandywine, Pa., September 11, 1777	300
Wounded and missing	1000
Killed and wounded at Stillwater, N. Y., September 10, 1777	350
Number of killed not reported, estimated	75
Killed at Monmouth, N. J., June 28, 1778	67
Wounded and missing	130
Killed at Guilford Court House, N. C.	79
Killed at Kings Mountain, October 7, 1780	30
Killed at Eutaw Springs, S. C., September, 1781	150
Killed at Savannah, Ga.	75
Killed, wounded and missing at Yorktown, Va., October 17, 1781	300
Killed, estimated	60

The above list of seventeen battles shows a loss in killed of 917. The other losses, numbering 818, occurred in Indian massacres and various skirmishes in the other thirty-eight battles and skirmishes from Lexington to Yorktown. [*Americana*, 1910.]

FATHER JOHN CARROLL'S ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION TO CANADA IN 1776.

[Archives, Baltimore.]

Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Samuel Chase were, in 1776, sent by the Continental Congress to Canada to induce the Canadians to take part with the other Colonies or to remain neutral and also to examine into the condition of the American army then in Canada. Father Carroll was, by Congress, requested to accompany the Commissioners. Here is his relation of the Embassy. Unfortunately all the manuscript has not been preserved:

Dr. Carroll writes: "The Congress has done me the distinguished and unexpected honor of desiring me to accompany the Committee ordered to Canada and of assisting them in such matters as they shall judge useful. I should betray the confidence put in me by the Honorable Congress, and perhaps disappoint their expectations were I not to open my mind to them with the utmost sincerity and plainly tell them how little service they can hope to derive from my assistance. In the first place, the nature and functions of that profession in which I have engaged from a very early period in life render me, as I humbly conceive a very unfit person to be employed in a negotiation of so new a kind to me, of which I have neither experience nor systematical knowledge. I hope I may be allowed to add that though I have very little regard to my personal safety amidst the present distress of my country, yet I cannot help feeling for my character; and I have observed that when the ministers of religion, leave the duties of their profession to take a busy part in political matters they generally fall into contempt, and sometimes even bring discredit to the cause in whose service they are engaged. Secondly—From all the information I have been able to collect concerning the State of Canada, it appears to me that the inhabitants of that Country are no wise disposed to molest the United Colonies or prevent their forces from taking and holding possession of the strong places in that province, or to assist in any manner the British arms. Now if it is proposed that the Canadians should concur with the other colonies any future than by such neutrality I apprehend that it will not be in my power to advise them to it. They have not the same motives for taking

up arms against England which renders the resistance of the other colonies so justifiable. If an oppressive mode of government has been given them, it was what some of them chose, and the rest have acquiesced in. Or if they find themselves oppressed they have not yet tried the success of petitions and remonstrances all which ought, as I apprehend, to be ineffectual before it can be lawful to have recourse to arms and change of government. Thirdly—Though I were able to bring myself to think (which as objects now appear to me I really cannot) that the Canadians might lawfully take up arms and concur with"—[the draught of the letter stops abruptly here. (Original MS. Archiepiscopal Archives, Baltimore. From *Land of the Sanctuary,* by Father Russell.]

DR. JACOB DURANG.

Concerning this soldier of the American Revolution his great-grandson, E. F. Durang, the well-known church architect of Philadelphia, supplied the following information, on April 4, 1884:

He was a native of Strasburg, and served in the Regiment De Waldsen of the French Army for twelve years in the reign of Louis XVI, being consigned as surgeon. He obtained his discharge February 25, 1767, and at that period married Miss Arten of Vizenburg, and emigrated to this country, reaching our shores in November, 1767, and settled in York, Lancaster Co., where John Durang, my grandfather, was born, January 6, 1769. Dr. Jacob Durang during our Revolutionary War, strange to say, joined his old companions in arms of the French army, to use the words of a diary kept by John Durang, "against the Tyranic power in the glorious cause of Liberty and religion." He was encamped at Lancaster with a regiment from Virginia, and, after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, Jacob Durang purchased a property in our city and settled here, having sold the York property. He died in Charleston, S. C. He was attached to St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, as was also his son, John Durang, who was buried at St. Mary's, died on Palm Sunday, March 31, 1822. His son Ferdinand Durang, who adapted the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner" to the music of "Anacreon in Heaven," died in New York in 1831.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR A JUST CAUSE—THE NATIONS WHICH AIDED AND SECURED OUR INDEPENDENCE WERE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Rev. Charles Constantine Pise, D.D., when Chaplain of the United States Senate, delivered at Annapolis, Maryland, 4th July, 1833, an Oration in the House of Delegates, from which we extract the following:

If ever there was a just cause for a people to rise against their rulers, to struggle against oppression, and to assume a stand of defiance, in the field and in their counsels, the colonists had that cause. The fierce spirit of tyranny breathed through all the legislation of Great Britain, towards our country. Her grievances were numerous, disgraceful, insufferable. I shall not stop to enumerate them; they were admitted by the greatest statesmen in the British Cabinet, they were described by the eloquence of the greatest orators in the British Senate. The mighty mind of Chatham beheld them as they existed, and anticipated the result of them. With the thunders of his eloquence he shook the walls of that Senate, and the stoutest hearts of the ministry. "Illegal violence," he said, "were committed in America. The resistance to an arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen; it was obvious from the nature of things and mankind. The spirit which resisted taxation in America," he continued, "is the same which formerly opposed, and with success opposed, loans and ship money in England—the same spirit which called all England on her legs, and by the bill of rights, vindicated the British constitution." And was it to be supposed that our forefathers, in the simplicity of whose lives was found the simplicity of virtue, the integrity and courage of freedom; "those true genuine sons of the earth," as they were styled by Lord Chatham, would do otherwise than resist, and could be otherwise than invincible? They were not ordinary men; they did not, with blind fanaticism, rush forward, without well considering what they were risking, and what they were undertaking, without being fully convinced of the magnitude, peril, and importance of the object for which they contended, and maturely prepared for the disastrous consequences which would have followed a failure and a defeat. But that object was a sacred one—it was one that give elevation, loftiness and daring to the heart; energy, power and perseverance

to the soul: their object was to give freedom, with freedom, independence, and dignity, and safety to their country; to secure for their children peace, happiness, prosperity; to light up their domestic hearts with Promeathean fires of comfort, founded on the principles of equality; and on the ruins of the idols of slavery and oppression, to erect the temple of Liberty and Independence.

Yes, the result has proved what was admitted by the Earl of Chatham, that the men who engaged in this noble, this hallowed cause, were stamped with extraordinary characteristics, adorned with extraordinary virtues, and not inferior to the most famous personages in ancient times. "When your Lordships look at the papers transmitted from America," exclaimed Lord Chatham "when you consider their decency, firmness and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause; for myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation, and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucidydes, and have studied and admired the master states of the world—that for solidity and reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of different circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."

What an eulogy this of the first representatives of our colonies, of the fathers of American liberty. What a panegyric from one whom England boasts of as the Demosthenes of her Senate! What a picture of the character, purpose, and wisdom of those rare men, who assembled to consult for welfare, and vindicate their rights, of their country! Any eloquence of modern eulogy must fall far short of that pronounced by the loftiest aristocrat, and most tremendous orator of the British nation, in favor of the handful of devoted patriots who drew up that splendid instrument which was read—and so gracefully read—this day, and which as a state paper, as a diplomatic composition, can vie with any production that had before, or since, emanated from united wisdom and virtue of any ancient or modern nation. Of these extraordinary personages who signed the glorious instrument, and whose names are now held up to the world as lights and ornaments, shedding brilliancy on the firmament of fame, and glory on the horizon of immortality, one was born, the other was adopted, in the city where we are now commemorating their virtues—and their voices, which now have been stilled by the grave, once resounded through the halls of this edifice. Carroll and Chase! sons of Annapolis! the genius of this place, sitting under

the bowers that shade the beauteous Severn, strings her harp to your praise; Shades of those venerable men, of those benefactors of the human race smile down from your spheres of bliss and glory, on your country and your town! May the one flourish forever under the influence of that Independence which you so efficaciously contributed to achieve; and may the other, while she is ever grateful for your services, mindful of your actions, proud of your memories, be, as she has always been, distinguished for her patriotism, hospitality, and liberality. Yes, fair city of the Severn, mayest thou, in the language of Virgil—

> "Simul Heroum laudes, et facta parentis
> Jan legere, et quae sit poteriscognoscere virtus."

And who were the warriors who, at the call of their country, buckled on their armour, put themselves at the head of their fellow-citizens, and went forth to battle against the most warlike and potent nation in Europe? Who were they who raised among our woods the standard of ancient Rome, and called back into life the eagles of liberty? Were they trained to the arts of warfare; disciplined, from their boyhood, in some military school; taught to wield the sword, and grasp the spear, and grapple with the foemen? Were they veterans in the field of battle—acquainted with danger, accustomed to heat and cold, to hunger and thirst? No—those brave men were not soldiers by profession—they had, most of them, pursued the quiet walks of life, happy in their paternal fields, loving to till the ground, and delighting in the retirement and simplicity of rural pursuits. The tranquility of their vales had never been ruffled by the din of war, the noise of the drum and the peal of the cannon had never thundered over their sequestered retreats. Even he who headed the armies of freedom, quitted the ploughshare for the sword of battle! It was no lust of military fame, no hope of spoil or booty, that spurred them to the field—it was their country's wrongs that nerved their arms, her voice appealing to their patriotism, that roused them to action, and to deeds of noble daring. It was freedom that glowed in their bosoms, that beat in their veins, that throbbed in their hearts. It was, in the strain of Thompson,—

> "Devotion to the public, glorious fame, Celestial ardor—"

Without arms, ammunition, or navy, they had to contend with veterans abounding in all the implements of war, acquainted with all its tactics, skilled in all its arts, familiarized with all its perils, whose ships darkened the waters of every clime, and whose maritime

power had wrenched from the world the trident of old ocean. But the mighty soul of the patriot, to use the forcible language of Judge Breckenridge, "drink in the danger, and like the eagle on the mountain top, collected magnanimity from the very prospect of the height from which it meant to soar." And may I not add, from that height the bird Jove hurled down his thunders on the king of beast, and pounced upon its mighty prey.

I shall not attempt to enter into the details of the war; to enumerate the circumstances and progress of five campaigns—their pitched battles, skirmishes, and valorous achievements—I shall not describe the bravery and success with which every inch of the ground was disputed—how heroes met foot to foot, point to point, sword to sword, breast to breast—how every tract of region was marked with the vestiges of war, and reddened with the blood of freemen; how, nobly fighting in their country's cause, many of the best and bravest fell upon the plain, in the arms of Liberty and Glory. Shall I mention the names of those heroes? They shall be emblazoned on the pillars of fame—on columns more perennial than bronze—and shall be encircled with the same halo which adorns those of Epaminondas, Miltiades, Pausanias, and the worthies of Greece and Rome. Posterity shall point to them as models of patriotism, examples of devotedness to the public weal, as martyrs to their country's good. Their praises shall tremble on the poet's lyre, and their fame, "like the vestal lamp," shall be lighted up never more to be extinguished. Gallant and distinguished as Warren, prudent and intrepid as Macpherson, bold and resolute as Haslet and Mercer; devoted and persevering as Herkimer and Wooster, will be proverbial among the children of America. Thousands of others have earned unfading laurels, reaped a harvest of immortality on the field of battle:

> "Thousands the tribute of our praise demand;
> But who can count the stars of Heaven,
> Who speak their influence on this lower world!"

Notwithstanding the great talents of our countrymen, which the emergencies of the times called forth and excited; notwithstanding their devotedness, determination and patriotism, our cause would have been doubtful, had it not been supported by the power and virtue of foreign volunteers. Immortal thanks and gratitude are due to the illustrious but unfortunate monarch, the martyred Louis XVI. who, by his timely assistance, taught our fathers not

to despair, and joined them in alliance on terms of perfect equality; furnished them with money and military stores, and efficaciously contributed to put a period to the revolutionary struggle.

And what shall I say of the far-famed individuals who quitted their country and their families, entered into our armies, fought our battles, and won our victories! What eulogy can do justice to the gallant Lafayette, whose toils did not cease with the war, but whose endeavors to establish our interests, in commercial and political arrangements yield not to the splendor of his achievements during the contest. That aged companion of Washington, after an interval of nearly half a century, has continued the steady friend of our country and our institutions, he has revisited our shores—he had a favorable opportunity of judging of the effects of our independence, and the blessing of liberty—and the welcome, the enthusiastic gratulations, the triumphal arches, the trophies of honor, the expressions of respect, the universal jubilee of the entire republic, have borne witness to the gratitude which we cherish for him, and the veneration in which his name is held.

In conjunction with Lafayette, the memories of other foreign heroes burst upon our view: shall time ever obscure the lustre that brightens the names of Rochambeau, and Chastellux; of D'Estaigne, De Grasse, or De Barras and Kosciuszko—Kosciuszko who fought from the Hudson to the Potomac, from the Atlantic to the lakes of Canada—Kosciuszko! who, in the language of Von Neimciwiser, who delivered his eulogium at Warsaw, "patiently endured incredible fatigue, acquired immortal renown—and, what is infinitely more valuable in his estimation, ensured the gratitude of a liberated nation. The American flag waved over the forts in the United States, and the great work of liberation was finished, before he would consent to return to his native Poland"—and

"Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko died!"

It is a special privilege for me to have it in my power, this day, to strew my handful of flowers over the urns, and add my leaf of glory to the chaplets, of such god-like men. No matter from what quarter of the world they might have come, or in what clime they might have been cradled; no matter what language they might have spoken, or what religion they might have professed. But double is that privilege, and most consoling to my bosom the circumstance, when I reflect, that the nations which gave birth to those immortal benefactor of America, those pure and lofty lovers of liberty and

republicanism, were Roman Catholics. France, at that era, saw upon her throne the worthy descendant of Louis XIV, the religious successor of Charlemagne and Louis IX. Enthusiastic in his attachment to his creed, and yet the avowed patron of American independence—the powerful co-operator in setting *our* country free, and at length a martyr to the principles of his Church, the conviction of his conscience—the victim—whom posterity shall ever be proud to venerate—to fanaticism and anarchy.

Poland, the birth-place of Kosciuszko, from immemorial ages, the land of Catholicism, and the home of the spirit of freedom. Her name is synonomous with patriotism, magnanimity, and glory and misfortune. Impatient of slavery, she writhes under oppression; born for liberty, she is yoked to the car of despotism. She has arisen in her indignation, and with a spirit that cannot brook the yoke, and a soul that bursts from its manacles, and a heart that breaks under tyranny, has attempted to be free! But her efforts were crushed by the wrath of Russia, the hosts of serfs and Cossacks swarmed over her plains, like the locusts over Egypt. The Leviathan of the North has devoured the hopes of Polish liberty. The most gallant nation is in chains, she whose arm was ever extended to befriend the cause of freedom; has been seen to fall, without the prospect of resurrection, into the grave of oppression.

> "Her fathers were among the brave and free,
> And good as free, and virtuous as brave.
> Spirit of Sobieski, rise!—to thee
> Poland appeals! rise from thine honored grave!
> As the pennons of thy country wave
> O'er her bright spears and lances, point again
> To glory's pillar reared on Choczins plain.
> Sons of brave Poland! turn your eyes to where
> Your Sobieski paused to send to heaven
> For his dear country and her sons this prayer:
> 'To thee be liberty forever given.'"

The conduct of France and Poland, in our regard, ought to silence forever the voice of prejudice, which, even at the present day, proclaims the Roman Catholic religion hostile to the genius of republican institutions. And I rejoice that so auspicious an occasion presents itself in which, I may adduce, in refutation of such groundless assertions the *actions* of the Catholic countries and Catholic individuals. Among the Signers of the American independence, Carroll was a Catholic—and not in theory, merely, but a rigid, prac-

tical, devoted member of the Catholic Church. In his old age, he looked back with the calmest complacency on the part which he took during the Revolution, as he sank into the grave, he was supported by the consolation of religion, and cheered to the end by the recollection of his youthful efforts to disenthral his country. One of the commissioners appointed by the first Congress, to treat with the Canadians, was the Rev. John Carroll, a Roman Catholic priest, and afterwards first Archbishop of Baltimore. He did not deem it incompatible with his character, repugnant to his religious principles, to unite with Chase, Franklin and Charles Carroll, in the cause of liberty—not, indeed, to rouse the Canadians to rebellion, but to persuade them to remain neutral during the contest and the struggle. I mention these facts not in the spirit of sectarian triumph, but as a refutation of the assertion which is so frequently made, and by some may, perhaps, be believed, that the nature of our religion precludes the love of liberty—that our dependence on a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction subjects us to foreign domination.

Was it not stated—I regret to be obliged to speak of myself individually, but the subject and the occasion will be my apology—was it not circulated, through the press as an argument against my election to the Chaplaincy of the Senate, that I am subject to the Pope; that I had made an oath of allegiance to him as a temporal lord, and that certain honors have been conferred on me—which excludes me from the birthrights of my country. Shall I contradict all these assertions? Is it necessary before such an assembly, for me to declare, that I know of no temporal connection existing between myself and the Pope? I acknowledge no allegiance to his temporal power—I am no subject of his dominions—I have sworn no fealty to his throne—but I am, as all American Catholics glory to be, independent of all foreign temporal authority—devoted to freedom, to unqualified toleration, to republican institutions. America is our country; her laws are our safeguard; her Constitution our Magna Charta; her tribunals our appeal; her Chief Magistrate our national head—to all which we are subject and obedient, in accordance with the injunction of our religion, which commands us to give honor where honor is due—to be subject to the powers that are—and to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars.

Yes, my country, while one spark of freedom's fire still lingers in this world, we shall be found ready, eager, anxious, to kindle into a blaze the lurking scintillation. We shall be the ardent friends of

liberty properly understood—liberty such as flourishes in our happy realms—liberty the best boon of heaven, when not abused—liberty found on virtue and religion:

> "Unblest by virtue, government and league
> Become a circling junto of the great
> To rob the law—
> What are without it, senates, save a face
> Of consultation deep and reason free,
> While the determined heart and voice are sold.
> What boasted freedom but a sounding name?
> And what election, but a market vile
> Of slaves self bartered."

And is it not to secure such liberty for his country that O'Connell is now struggling? And if there is people on earth, that deserves to be free, is it not the ardent, generous, persevering people of Ireland? How long has that island been lashed by the scourge of tyranny, even as the tempest lashes her craggy shores. The lament of her harp, the thrilling, mournful anthem of her bards, resound through her verdant vales, and are wafted by the winds, across the ocean waves. In the midst of her waters, she sits solitary all the day long, looking forward, with fearful emotion, for a better fate. One powerful stroke has been given, by the Liberator's hand, to sever her fetters in twain, but the decisive one is still withheld, that will rescue her from her fatal union with the unrelenting isle, and leave her an independent nation, with her own laws, constitution, parliament, and religion. It is a remarkable fact, which should not be forgotten, amid the prejudice of the present age, that there never existed a people more staunchly, immovably, fearlessly devoted to the Catholic religion, or more aspiring after their rights, more yearning after their own liberty, and more ready to assist in cause of general freedom. Oh! may their most sanguine wishes be accomplished; their unyielding exertions be rewarded; their untiring perseverance be crowned with success; and may posterity, when pointing their children's attention to the great and the good in the temple of fame, be able to say: Behold in that niche, which is nearest to the bust of Washington, the statue of O'Connell, who not only abolished the penal laws but made of Ireland a separate kingdom, and gave her that lofty station which she so fully deserves to hold among the nations of the earth.

As for us, my fellow-citizens when we look around, and behold the elevation to which we have attained as a free government; our

country teeming with a numerous, thriving, enterprising population; emigration from all parts of the world to our shores, and sweeping its tide at the foot of the Rocky Mountains; civilization penetrating into the deepest recesses of our forests; education spreading abroad its refining influence; religion suffusing her heaven-born blessing, giving glory to God, and peace to men; manufactures flourishing; industry felling the trees in the wilderness, and making the plains to teem with abundance; commerce crowding the deep with our ships and our produce, uniting these shores with those beyond the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans; internal improvements facilitating our correspondence and communication—canals wafting their waters through the roughest regions, and railroads smoothing down the mountains, and stretching from the Chesapeake Bay to the far Ohio—when we contemplate all these signal blessings, these ennobling privileges—when we see our flag floating in the winds of every clime, streaming down upon every sea, acknowledged, respected, feared—toleration of all religious denominations—full and unqualified liberty of conscience—the admitted right to worship at our altars, according to our convictions, without being shackled by any penal law, degraded by any civil disqualification, as was the case before the Revolution—what should be our gratitude to the great "giver of every good gift;" how should our hearts expand in praise and thanksgiving for his especial favors and benedictions, and how cautious should we all be, by good works and religious dispositions, to deserve a continuance of his mercy and providential care. As long as we correspond with the beneficial designs of heaven—as long as we view the interposition of our Omnipotent Father, in our liberation from our primitive condition, His arm will be extended over us. America shall be free—shall be independent! The prediction of the poet shall be perfectly realized:

> "Fly time, oh, lash thy fiery steeds away.
> Roll, rapid wheels, and bring the smiling day,
> When these blest states, another promised land,
> Chosen and fostered, by the Almighty hand,
> Supreme shall rise,—their crowned shores shall be
> The fixed abodes of Empire and Liberty."

I have spoken.

The above is taken from the *Catholic Expositor and Literary Magazine,* July, 1842, edited by Very Rev. Felix Varela, D.D., and Rev. Charles Constantine Pise, D.D. He was, on nomination of

Henry Clay, elected Chaplain of the United States Senate, December 11, 1832. He was born November 22, 1801, at Annapolis, Maryland. His father was an Italian; his mother, Margaret Gamble, a native of Philadelphia. He died in Brooklyn, New York, April, 1866, when Pastor of the Church of St. Charles Borromeo.

During the Know Nothing days when Catholics were charged with disloyalty to the institutions of our Country, he, when, visiting Washington City, seeing the Stars and Stripes displayed over the Capitol was inspired to write the following:

"THE AMERICAN FLAG."

They say I do not love thee,
  Flag of my native land;
Whose meteor folds above me,
  To the free breeze expand;
Thy broad stripes proudly streaming,
And thy stars so brightly gleaming.

They say I would forsake thee,
  Should some dark crisis lower;
That, recreant, I should make thee
  Crouch to a foreign power;
Seduced by license ample,
On thee, best flag, to trample.

They say that bolts of thunder,
  Cast in the forge of Rome,
May rise and bring thee under,
  Flag of my native home,
And with one blow dissever
My heart from thee forever.

False are the words they utter,
  Ungenerous their brand;
And rash the oaths they mutter,
  Flag of my native land;
Whilst still, in hope above me,
Thou wavest—and I love thee!

God is my love's first duty,
  To whose eternal name
Be praise for all thy beauty,
  Thy grandeur and thy fame;
But ever have I reckoned
Thine, native flag, my second.

Woe to the foe or the stranger,
  Whose sacrilegious hand,
Would touch thee, or endanger,
  Flag of my native land.
Though some would fain discard thee,
Mine should be raised to guard thee.

Then wave, thou first of banners,
  And in thy gentle shade,
Beliefs, opinions, manners,
  Promiscuously be laid;
And there, all discord ended,
Our hearts and souls be blended.

Stream on, stream on, before us,
  Thou labarum of light,
While in one generous chorus,
  Our vows to thee we plight;
Unfaithful to thee—never!
My native land forever.

Bishop Hughes, in a letter to Mayor Harper of New York, 17th May, 1844, wrote:

I can even now remember my reflections on first beholding the American flag. It never crossed my mind that a time might come when that flag, the emblem of freedom, should be divided, by apportioning its stars to the citizens of native birth and its stripes only as the portion of the foreigner. I was, of course, but young and inexperienced; and yet, even recent events have not diminished my confidence in that ensign of civil and religious liberty. It is possible that I was mistaken; but still I cling to the delusion, if it be one, and as I trusted to that flag, on a *Nation's faith,* I think it more likely that its stripes will disappear altogether; and that before it shall be employed as an instrument of bad faith, toward the foreigners of every land, the white portions will blush with crimson; and then the glorious stars alone will remain. [Maury's *Statesmen of America,* p. 532.]

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BROUGHT RELIGIOUS RELIEF TO THE CATHOLICS OF ENGLAND.

The American Revolution not only gave Liberty and Independence to the Colonies and elevated them to free and sovereign States, but it gave Liberty and Independence to the Catholic Church in our Country and gave her, unrestricted by human laws, that opportunity to fulfill her divine mission, which ever affords her stability and progress.

But the Revolution did still more for the Catholics of England, Ireland and Scotland. Restrained in all the Colonies, save Pennsylvania, her mission was retarded, her efforts hampered by the anti-Catholic spirit prevailing. But the Church in the Colonies was not bound by such cruel penal laws which held our brethren in England Scotland and Ireland.

But England's difficulties presented the opportunity, which less troubled times had not afforded, for obtaining a portion of that full justice due Catholics in the British Isles. It is to be remembered that Sir John Burgoyne, who, in 1777, was obliged to surrender at Saratoga to the American "rebel," General Gates, had, during the war in Portugal, commanded many hundreds of Catholics who, serving in the British army, may be said to have done so in violation of their consciences, if they had taken the attestation oath, thereby, in effect, declaring themselves Protestants, though at times the oath was not required. As far as law could have it so, none but Protestants could serve in the British army. Sir John Burgoyne, in the House of Commons, on 11th December, 1770, with the active support of General Conway, an English officer of the highest standing, called attention to the grievances of the Catholics in the army and demanded a redress. He declared that he had commanded 500 Roman Catholics, though they had come to him as if they were Protestants, yet when opportunity offered they attend, "out of uniform, Catholic temples of worship;" that they were brave soldiers; that foreign nations were astonished that so many fine soldiers should be forced into foreign service by the imposition of oaths at home which they could not take without violating truth and religion.

But Burgoyne's efforts were ineffectual, until England's difficulties in the American war aroused concern as to every source of strength in her struggles with the Colonies. But Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga caused an awakening to the seriousness of the

war and of the power and strength of the battling Americans, as well as the probability of the alliance of France, and the helping influence of Spain, being given the Americans, thus obliging England to declare war against these powerful nations.

The first endeavor of England was to obtain recruits for her army among the Catholic Scotch Highlanders. So Sir John Dalrymple, one of the barons of the Scotch Exchequer, was deputed to discover how the war was regarded by the Highlanders, the probability of securing recruits and what modifications of existing laws, considered antagonistic to their religion, would be required to secure their services.

It is not within the scope of this recital to detail the incidents attending this endeavor, nor that attending the coöperation of the English Catholics carried on mainly by laymen of the nobility or of social standing, nor of the terms upon which the Irish Bishops secured a relaxation of many and the abrogation of other of the penal laws in recompense for assistance to England in her endeavor to suppress the "rebellion" in America and to maintain in even more oppressive form those unjust exactions against which the Americans revolted.

But, speaking generally, the Act of 1778 repealed the Act of William III, the chief provisions of which were the grant of £100 rewards to every informer who obtained the conviction of a Catholic priest; imprisonment for life for every Catholic Bishop, priest or schoolmaster, the disability preventing Catholics from inheriting or purchasing lands or forfeiting his estates to the next Protestant heir. [Burton's *Challoner,* II, p. 199.]

These benefits were only extended to those who took the oath of allegiance. The clergy were left as before, except there was no reward for informers on them. "We only want to secure our pensions and property." The private practice of their religion was secured for the Catholics of the British Isles, their estates were secured from confiscation by Protestant descendants, the oath was modified and the test act repealed as far as it related to their religious tenets, the "elementary rights of inheritance and purchase of land" was secured and the clergy's position was "less precarious and dangerous than before."

"Looking back upon the Relief Act of 1778 the first points that strike us are its suddenness and the rapidity with which it came into being. In January no one dreamed of it; in June it was an accomplished fact." [Burton's *Life of Challoner,* II, p. 182.]

Said one Lord to Mr. Dumming when seeking his aid in introducing the Act, "Nothing then for your clergy. Then I'll have nothing to do with the business." [Burton, *Challoner,* II, p. 202.]

The Act of 1778 also enabled Roman Catholics who should take the oath of allegiance to hold leases for 999 years or determinable upon any lives, not exceeding five. The lands of Catholics were made devisable and transferable, and Catholics were rendered capable of holding and enjoying those which might descend or be devised or transferred to them. [Butler's *Memoir,* III, p. 487, 3d Ed.]

But ten years later this Relief Act brought on the Lord George Gordon riots in London as well as anti-Catholic disturbances and destruction of Catholic property in other parts of England and also in Scotland. One circumstance is set forth as tending to promote the effort to lessen the penal oppressions of the Catholics. It is related by a Mr. Stapleton, one of the actives in the movement. In his account of the origin of the Relief Bill he states:

"There had been many thousand hand-bills distributed in Ireland at the instigation of a Mr. Charles Carroll, a Ro[man] Cath[olic] of the Congress in America, promising every individual that would imigrate to America a proportional quantity of land according to his birth and station in life, with full toleration; and that no Religious tenets should be any hindrance to any preferment whatever. This greatly alarmed many who had great property there and was a great help, for what would become of the estates of Rockingham, Shelbourne, Hillsborough, Sir George Saville, etc., if the people left the Kingdom. Many also were of the opinion that the French might make a descent on Ireland and were greatly apprehensive that the Roman Cath[olic]s of that country would join them. Both of these, I am sure, was much feared and was of much use to us."

On the first of May, 1778, Lord Petre, the Earl of Surrey, and Lord Linton presented George III with an Address "To Ye King's Most Excellent Majesty The Humble Address of the Roman Catholic Peers and Commoners of Great Britain." In it they said, as applicable to our subject:

"In times of public danger, when Your Majesty's subjects can have but one interest, and ought to have but one wish and one sentiment, we humbly hope it will not be deemed improper to assure Your Majesty of our unreserved affection to your government, of our unalterable attachment to ye cause and welfare of this our

common Country, and of the designs and views of any foreign power against the dignity of Your Majesty's crown, the safety and tranquility of Yr Majesty's subjects. The delicacy of our situation is such that we do not presume to point out the particular means by which we may be allowed to testify our zeal to Your Majesty and our wishes to serve our country.

"But we entreat leave faithfully to assure Your Majesty that we shall be perfectly ready on every occasion to give such proofs of our fidelity, and the purity of our intentions, as Your Majesty's wisdom and the sense of the Nation shall at any time deem expedient."

This address was signed by ten Peers and 163 Commoners, says Butler's *Historical Memoirs of English Catholics* [3d Ed., Vol. III, p. 268], but Burton's *Life of Bishop Challoner* [II, p. 194] says it was "signed in person or by proxy by 207 gentlemen."

Edmund Burke, in a Speech to the Electors of Bristol in 1780, thus referred to this Address and the occasion of its origin:

". . . When the English nation seemed to be dangerously, if not irrecoverably, divided; when one, and that the most growing branch was torn from the parent stock, and ingrafted on the power of France, a great terror fell upon this kingdom. On a sudden we awakened from our dreams of conquest, and saw ourselves threatened with an immediate invasion; which we were at that time very ill prepared to resist. You remember the cloud that gloomed over us all. In the hour of our dismay, from the bottom of the hiding-places into which the indiscriminate rigour of our statutes had driven them, came out the body of the Roman Catholicks. They appeared before the steps of a tottering throne, and with one of the most sober, measured, steady and dutiful addresses that was ever presented to the crown. It was no holiday ceremony, no anniversary compliment parade or show. It was signed by almost every gentleman of that persuasion, of note or property, in England. At such a crisis, nothing but a decided resolution to stand or fall with their country could have dictated such an address; the direct tendency of which was to cut off all retreat; and to render them peculiarly obnoxious to an invader of their own communion. The address showed, what I long languished to see, that all the subjects of England had cast off all foreign views and connections, and that every man looked for his relief from every grievance, at the hands only of his own natural government." [Burton's *Challoner,* II, 197.]

INHABITANTS OF CAHOKIA TO CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 10, 1784.

EXTRACT OF THE REGISTER OF THE RECORD OFFICE OF THE ILLINOIS IN THE TOWN OF KASKASKIA.

[From *Illinois His. Col.*, Vol. II, p. 567.]

To the Honorable Congress.

Sirs:—It is with true pleasure that we, the inhabitants of Cahokia and the surrounding villages, have learned that by an act of the assemblage of Virginia of the 20th of January, 1781, we have fallen entirely under the jurisdiction of your honorable body; for we hope you will give us the assistance which we need, and grant us the enjoyment of our former laws, privileges and customs, and as American subjects we shall enjoy the same advantages as the other inhabitants enjoy; for we have borne voluntarily our proportional share in all the enterprises, which have been formed against the common enemy, and even very often exposed our families to the brutality of the savages by going far from them, and we have often been deprived of the necessities in order to contribute to the support of the troops who have been sent among us; and this at a time that our crops have completely failed both on account of the overflow of the Mississippi and the incursions which the savages made on our lands. Finally we have shown on all occasions a true zeal in the defence of liberty. This is why we hope to receive the advantages of our labors and that you will give heed to the petitions which we make and which are only too just to cause us doubt of their success.

Firstly, we pray that you grant us the right of choosing from among ourselves the most enlightened persons for magistrates, who shall hold their place as long as they merit the confidence of the people, and that in case of malversation we have also the same right of displacing them in order to name others; and that all the persons who shall come to settle among us be obliged to conform themselves to the laws which are already established and under which we have and hope to live in peace.

Secondly, we pray that, for all the important suits in which the well-being of some individual shall be entirely at stake, we have, besides our judicature, a place to which we can make appeal

from the judgments when one of these individuals believes that he has not been heard according to full justice, which he had the right to expect; that the number of these suits be reduced to that which you shall believe absolutely necessary for the well-being of the place; and that the sites of the forts be not alienated to any individual, as now the said M. John Dodge possesses a site of a fort, the earth-works of which have been all built since the time when the King of France possessed the colony of the Illinois and which are the defence of the village of the town of Kaskaskia.

Thirdly, on account of the hope, which we have, that once good order is established among us, there are bound to come back all the inhabitants who, wearied with seeing themselves exposed to all kinds of danger, have withdrawn to Spanish parts, and furthermore on account of the advantages which the fertility of our land offers to those who shall come here to settle, we desire that you will hinder the abuse which generally occurs in all new countries, where there are always some individuals who make purchases of large tracts of land on which they have no intention of settling, but that of holding them some years in order to sell them afterwards at exorbitant price.

Fourthly, since we have reason to expect that you will send troops, of whom we need for the safety and police of the place, we hope you will provide for this, that we are no longer exposed to the same disorder and irregularity that we have already suffered from; that it be no longer in the power of the commander of these troops to take by force from the houses of the inhabitants what he shall believe he has need of; that for this purpose you will authorize some one to settle the old accounts for the supplies which the inhabitants already furnished and that this same person or another be also authorized to satisfy either in gold or credit-notes the inhabitants who shall furnish him with provisions for the troops; and that in case he happens to lack any necessity, the officer in command be obliged to have recourse to the magistrates of the place, who shall use the most prompt means and the most satisfactory to the individuals to obtain for him what he needs.

Fiftly, since we have among us several persons who through the correspondence they keep up with the subjects of the King of England both from Michillimackinac and Detroit and other places to the prejudice of our commerce; and also a band of worthless fellow who assemble with subjects of the King of England and

make speeches against the United States and who are instilling in the minds of feeble spirits the belief that the King of England will take possession of the colony, that is what makes the trouble among the savage tribes and exposes us daily to peril; and when a justice is seen to be established, it would prevent all the intrigues and by its troops spare us all danger.

Sixthly, for a last petition, which we regard as a special grace, we hope that Congress will consider that for several consecutive years we have suffered from a lack of all necessities both on account of the inundation of the Mississippi on the lands which we have conjointly chosen and because of the disturbance which has been caused by the savage tribes who have obliged us to abandon the settlements which we have already made, a fact which compels us to live very secludedly; and therefore we hope you will grant us freedom from taxation for some years so that we may put ourselves in a condition to be able to live and support our families; and that when we are obliged to pay taxes, you will grant us the right [of choosing] from among ourselves person who know what each possesses and can, with more equity, judge what each individual ought to pay. We hope that our petitions will appear to you so just that there will be no doubt for a single moment of your granting them to us.

Major Lebrun de Belcour, bearer of the present, will be able to give to you a circumstantial statement of our present condition; and we fully trust that you will listen to our petitions and we are very respectfully, Sirs,

Your very humble and obedient petitioners, undersigned. At Cahokia in the Illinois, this 10th of November, 1784; signed at the record:

Jean Bte. La Croix, Dubuque C. Alarie, A. Pelletier, F. Courier, L. Comte Brady [?], A. Harmand Dupuis, P. Martin, J. Gervais, P. Roy, J. Cesirre-Chenier, I. Lefevre, L. Pillet, L. Lebrun, J. Bte. Dumay, J. Bissonette, P. Poupar, Charles Cadron, F. Grandmount, Bte. Baron P. Chevalier, P. Dorion, Bte. Alaire, A. Baron, A. Girardin, E. Bouvet, A. Lamarch, R. Watts [?], J. Roussard, Bte. Saucier Labruyer, L. Chatel, Bte. Mercier, Aime Compte, M. Saucier, F. Saucier Germain N. Canada, J. Marois, A. Boyer, J. Belcour Gagné.

Thimothe de Monbreun, Commandant.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS AT VALLEY FORGE—GALLOWAY'S REPORTS TO LORD DARTMOUTH OF THE CONDITION OF WASHINGTON'S ARMY.

On Sunday afternoon, June 13, 1909, the Fourth Degree of the Knights of Columbus of Philadelphia visited Valley Forge, the encampment of Washington's army during the winter of 1777-8, from December to June. Though it rained, twenty-eight hundred of Knights, their wives and children were present.

Addresses were made by ex-Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, Father Buel, S.J., and the Editor THE RESEARCHES. The latter deemed it historically proper to read a letter from Joseph Galloway to the Earl of Dartmouth, describing the situation and condition of Washington's army when at Valley Forge. This letter has never been published. It is now presented for the first time in print.

Joseph Galloway had been Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and took an active part in the early day proceedings of the Colonies to obtain "a redress of grievances" by humble petitions to His Most Gracious Majesty, the King, presented in crawling humbleness at the "foot of the Throne"—addresses his Majesty spurned. When the Declaration of Independence became the cleaving instrument separating the people into Patriots and Loyalists, Galloway went over to British allegiance. When Philadelphia was captured he was appointed by General Howe, "Superintendent" of the City. In that position he became very zealous in upholding "the integrity of the Crown" and would have directed the military operations to "suppress the unnatural and unholy rebellion" had General Howe acted upon his recommendation, advice and suggestions. In Lord Dartmouth's *American Manuscripts* in the series of the *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* are several of Galloway's Reports sent while Superintendent at Philadelphia.

The British took possession of the City, September 26, 1777. On October 9th Galloway reported that "ten thousand had quitted the town on the approach of the King's troops"; that there remained: Males, under 18 years, 4,941, and over 60 years, 4,482; a total male population of 9,423. Of females there were 12,344. A total of 21,767.

On March 4, 1778, he sent the following interesting letter to Dartmouth. [Stevens' *Facsimiles of Documents Relating to the*

American Revolution in European Archives, 1775-1783, Vol. XXIV, No. 2090.]

"Washington's Head Quarters are still at the Valley Forge on Schuylkill Twenty-two Miles from Philada. Here he fixt his Winter Quarters with design to cover and command the Supplies of the Peninsula between Delaware and Chesapeake, to have an easy Access to the Jersey and keep up the communication with the Eastern provinces to secure his retreat over the Susquehanna and until that became necessary to cutt off the Supplies from the City. The Quarters for his men are newly built Huts or log houses making very uncomfortable Lodgings. His Cavalry & Horses have been destitute of Cover during the Inclemency and Severity of a Cold Winter. His men have been in a manner naked nor has it been in his Power to procure them Cloathing—And both men and Horses have been often reduced to the greatest distress for want of Provisions & Forage. The Consequences of which have been much Disease and great Desertions. His Hospitals have been full of sick, their sickness extremely mortal—and the Desertions very numerous, insomuch that from those two Causes his Army is now certainly diminished to less than Five Thousand Men, and not above Two thirds of that number effective.

"Your Lordship will naturally wish to know how it is possible that this Army should want Cloathing and Provisions especially the latter in a country abounding with such Plenty? The Answer and Fact is: The Loss of Philada. has proved as I ever conceived it would, the greatest check to the Rebellion that could happen. It was here the Merchants resided, Who exerted themselves in sending to foreign parts for their Supplies, and purchased and stored their provisions. It was here nine-tenths of those supplies were imported and their Magazines of Provisions Easily Collected, more so than in any part of America. It was here their Artificers, Mechanics and Manufacturers were procured, worked for them and provided the necessaries of their army. In short it was from hence they drew with Ease and Convenience almost all their Supplies. And as to the Want of Provisions I shall Account for it upon the only true Principles. Their affairs are conducted with Economy and their Consumption most extravagant. Added to these Causes the People of the Country awake from their late Delusions, and now plainly perceive the Ruin their Leaders have brought on them, withold, by every means in their Power every kind of Supply.

Hence we have found them generally refusing to supply voluntarily the rebel army with necessaries, disabling and breaking the wheels of their Carriages, hiding their horses, cattle and other Provisions and declining at the usual season of the year to thresh out their Grain tho' positive orders under severe Penalties are issued by the rebel Commander-in-Chief to do so. In consequence of all which the rebel Army has not been voluntarily supplied with Provisions since the taking of Philadelphia as before, but it has been supported entirely by what they have procured by Plunder and Force, and that Force often attended with Acts of the greatest Barbarity. On the other hand, no Difficulties, Dangers or penalties, not even of corporal punishment and the Threats of death itself have been sufficient to deter the people from supplying the King's army and Inhabitants of the City. Nothing that the Country affords has been wanting; the countrymen bringing it in dayly by stealth thro' the Enemy's Pickets. These Facts afford full Proof of the change of disposition in the people in favor of Government. But there are others yet more satisfactory and demonstrative. The people in every Quarter of the Province of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, the Delaware Counties and Maryland are dayly petitioning to be supported with a few of the King's Troops, and offering in case of that Support to take up Arms in behalf of Government, to seize and disarm their new oppressors or deliver them up & afterwards to defend the counties for the Crown.

"Such being the present disposition of the People and such the Circumstances of Rebel army, It is worth considering what is the Prospect of this Army's being recruited. From what I hear from the Eastern Colonies their Standing Army is very trifling. Their militia have ever had a great aversion to crossing the North River—they could not be prevailed to do so after the Battle of White Plains. This aversion will be much increased by the apprehension of an Invasion of their own Country from Britain. I have shewn before that the internal parts of the Provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and the Delaware Counties are generally in favor of Government. The frontier parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia are divided in Sentiments, tho' I am certain a great Majority wish to be restored to his Majesty's peace. But should it be otherwise there is no prospect of any recruits from thence. They are at war with the Indians. . . . From the beginning there has been a reluctance in the Natives in America to enter into the

Regular service of the rebellion. They have been forced out in the Militia by heavy fines for a few months only. The English, Scotch and Irish by far the most part of the latter have principally Composed the rebel regular Army. And the number of these is now reduced to a few, either by Sickness or Desertion. To which I may add that the Congress have lately very unpolitically adopted a Measure which will in the End be very inadequate to their expectations and raise an Opposition, to the recruiting their Army, they did not foresee. Finding that the Militia were not to be depended on in Battle they have resolved to draft them into the regular Service for Three Years, thus intending to lead them into better discipline and more firmness in Action. They have been exerting all their Power and Influence to carry this Measure into Execution but as yet with little prospect of Success. The Militia was composed of many men of property and families, these are even averse, and will not submit to military discipline. This has brought on a general opposition to the Measure and left it at present without any prospect of Success. From all which we may upon every reasonable principles conclude that Washington's Army cannot be recruited to any degree of Force sufficient to oppose one half of the regular well disciplined Troops now in this City.

"Upon the whole my Lord, after taking a View of the powers of this Country, its resources of Men and Money, the present Temper of the People towards Government and in general the present State of the Rebellion, I will venture to give your Lordship my real opinion, that if proper Measures are pursued, the Rebellion will be soon happily ended by the Force already here and what is intended by Parliament to be sent here.

"I will explain what I have ever thought those Measures ought to be. After I saw the well affected to Government disarmed in the beginning of the Rebellion and their arms put into the Hands of the disaffected I foresaw the difficulty of reducing with a small force so Extensive a country without making a considerable Use of the People in it, without taking the arms out of the hands of the disaffected and restoring them to the Loyalists, as the Country was Conquered, that the reducing of a Country without securing it answered no end but a bad one, as every reconquest gave new Spirits. If the army Conquering is not sufficient to secure the country and proceed in its other necessary conquests the people of it ought and must be Employed, if it may be done with any

prospect of Safety. The time is come when this may be affected with great security, because the Loyalists are by far more numerous than the disaffected, and are dayly soliciting to have arms put into their Hands, that they may give proof of their attachment to Government and assist the Crown in putting an end to their own distress and oppression fixt as some might be in opposition to Government and others wavering between the two opinions, many of the former are now brought over and all the latter fixt, in their Sentiments in favor of Government. Their feelings have taught them to reason, to see their former Delusion and to compare their former situation with their present and to prefer the former, and therefore to take a decisive part in favor of it. These may be Safely trusted and therefore safely armed. They will fight for Government because they believe they fight for themselves and will secure the Country as the army leaves it with very little assistance.

"To call in the Assistance of the well affected in the Country has been the Practice in most obstinate Rebellions and indeed it has been the common policy in reducing all extensive Countries. Should it be put in practice here, the work of the King's Army will [be] easy more especially should it be able to take the Field early.

"An Early campaign will be of the most critical importance Because there is not the least prospect at present of its being in any strength before June. And either a Defeat or Pursuit of it before that time must greatly retard if not totally discourage the raising of the Men.

"My Lord, &c.,

"J. GALLOWAY."

"On 25th March, 1778, Galloway sent Earl of Dartmouth a Sketch of Washington's Camp on the Schuylkill and an Account of Deserted Soldiers and galleymen of the Rebel Army and fleet who have come into Philadelphia and taken the oath of Allegiance with a particular Account of the places in which they were born."

The Report was:

Total soldiers to this day, 1134. Of which were born in England, 206; in Scotland, 56; in Ireland, 492; in Germany, 88; in America, 283; in Canada, 4; in France, 5.

Total galleymen to this day, 354. Of whom were born in England, 69; in Scotland, 22; in Ireland, 157; in Germany, 16; in America, 65; in France, 15.

This shows the whole number of deserters to have been 1488, of whom 649 were Irish—not "one half," as he in 1779 told Committee of House of Commons in England.

[Nos. 2093 & 2094, Vol. XXIV.]

On 24th March Galloway wrote in sending Sketch of Washington's Camp at Valley Forge:

"Since my last his [W.] Army have been diminishing by sickness and desertions. His whole Force at this time including all his out Posts and Parties does not consist of more than 4,000 Effective Men. They are in general badly cloathed, badly paid and of Course very disaffected. Their constant and numerous Desertions besides all Accounts from them prove their disaffection. All their horses which they had in the fall have perished for want of cover and Food. So that they have not had for some time past a number sufficient in case of an Attack and defeat to carry off their cannon & Baggage altho' their heavy cannon and baggage have been sent off near six weeks since towards the Susquehanna. In short, my Lord, this Army is at present in a truly weak and miserable situation."

"June 17, 1778.

"Washington's army now lies a part in and a part on this side of his Winter Encampment. Notwithstanding all ye exertions of the States of the Middle & Southern Colonies they have not been able to obtain 2,500 new recruits. The number of his Army is indeed increased to not more than 8,000 Effective men if an army composed of many boys and infirm men may be called Effective without Discipline for the most part and very badly appointed.

"They are attending the motion of the British Troops and I conclude will follow at an humble distance with the main body endeavoring to harass the British on their march. . . . Had the British army operated in this Quarter I am most certain that 10.000 Men would have been raised in a very short space to have joined in suppressing the rebellion. This Number I could have raised with the assistance of my friends in two months after the removal of Washington's Army over the Susquehanna and secured all the Country between N. Y. and Susquehanna and the lowest part of Maryland Peninsula."

So he sent His Reasons against Abandoning Philadelphia and Pennsylvania.

PATRICK COLVIN THE FERRYMAN OF TRENTON IN 1776.

Patrick Colvin of Trenton, New Jersey, declared by the late Bishop O'Farrell of that city and also by the late John D. McCormack, Editor of the *Potters' Journal* and the historian of the Church in Trenton, to have been a Catholic, was the proprietor of Colvin's Ferry from Trenton to [now] Morrisville, Pennsylvania, to which place Washington crossed after the Battle of Trenton, December 26, 1776.

After Patrick Colvin bought the ferry he owned it until 1792. It was known as Colvin's Ferry. On 16th November, 1792, Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, purchased from Patrick Colvin and his wife, 264½ acres adjoining the tract he already owned. This constituted Morrisville as it then came to be known.

"Patrick Colvin," says John D. McCormack, "is the only Catholic I can find living about Trenton at the time of the Revolution. He was a member of Father Farmer's flock [of St. Joseph's-St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia]. He often entertained that great missionary under his hospitable roof and also ferried him over the river into New Jersey on his numerous journeyings to New York. The traditions that have come down to me regarding Colvin's religion seem conclusive that he was a Catholic. General Stryker, the historian, told me that he has no doubt upon the subject. Mr. John McCully who was born in Trenton 98 years ago and is still living is of the same opinion as General Stryker. Both these gentlemen are Protestants. My investigations in other directions confirm their testimony." [*American Catholic His. Researches,* Jan., 1887, p. 25.]

Patrick Colvin knew all the fords and the ferries of the river for a long distance. He knew who owned the boats and where they could be found. He was familiar with the peculiarities of the stream as regards freshets or the like and how to overcome those obstacles if it were possible. He placed all that valuable information at the disposal of Washington, and his well-equipped ferry was freely used.

Towards the close of 1776 Washington was forced to retreat from the Hudson to the Delaware and on December 1st notified Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, to take prompt steps to get

possession of all the boats along the river, General Putnam even seized some lumber at the Trenton landing that could be utilized to construct rafts, and removed it to the west bank of the river. On the 3d of December the advance guard entered Trenton and the work of ferrying the army over into Pennsylvania was continued until the morning of the 8th, Washington going over with the rear guard. Colvin was at his post continually and got the army safely across just as the British entered the town at 11 o'clock in the morning. Great was their disappointment on discovering the boats safely moored on the west bank and an insurmountable barrier placed between them and the disorganized army they expected to capture on the eastern shore. Washington's headquarters were opposite Trenton Falls, about half a mile north of Colvin's ferry, from the 8th to the 25th of December.

On the night of December 25th and the morning of 26th, 1776, Washington commenced his forward movement upon Trenton. His plan was to cross in person at McConkey's ferry, now Taylorsville, some miles above the city; Cadwallader, with a body of troops, was to cross from Bristol, while General Ewing's forces were to effect a landing a little below Trenton. Both of these coöperative movements failed. A portion of Ewing's command stood shivering on the banks of the river in the bitter cold awaiting some detachments which did not arrive until too late to attempt the crossing. Patrick Colvin with his boats was with Ewing. He was ready to perform his part.

Says the Hon. James Buchanan, in his oration in Taylor's Opera House, Trenton, on the centennial celebration of the Battle of Trenton, December 26, 1876:

"Historians have agreed in lamenting that Ewing did not succeed in crossing his force that night. Washington himself regretfully alludes to his failure. It is quite plain, nevertheless, that Ewing's failure prevented the miscarriage of the whole plan. Washington intended to reach town before dawn; he was delayed and did not arrive until after sunrise. Had Ewing crossed at the lower ferry and awaited there the attack from above, his troops, with the coming of dawn would have been in plain view from the Hessian barracks, an alarm would have ensued, and Washington would have found a foe prepared and alert." [Trenton *Emporium*, Dec. 27, 1876.]

The question has often been asked and has given rise to much

controversy, "Where did Washington and his army cross the river after the victory of December 26th?" That they crossed on the afternoon of that day is positively asserted. Davis, in his *History of Morrisville* [pp. 630-631], says:

"There is a difference of opinion as to where the prisoners crossed the river. The accepted account stating that it was at McConkey's ferry, while an equally reliable authority tells us they were crossed at Johnson's ferry probably lower down. . . . We can hardly believe that Washington would risk his prisoners in a flank march of nine miles when it was so evidently his policy to put the river between them at the nearest ferry where there were boats to carry them over."

The army had been on the move most of the 25th. The crossing at McConkey's ferry commenced at sunset that day. All that night the work went on and at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 26th the march to Trenton begun. They marched nine miles, fought a battle, gained a victory and bagged about 1000 prisoners; and yet we are told that they crossed that afternoon. It is incredible unless they crossed directly opposite Trenton. A long and fatiguing march to McConkey's ferry would have been a great hardship to men so severely tried. There seems to be no escaping the conclusion that they crossed at Colvin's ferry, which they undoubtedly did. Ewing had intended to cross there and Colvin's boats were conveniently near, and placed the Delaware between them and all danger. How rapidly it was done can be inferred from the fact that they crossed that very afternoon. If Washington fully realized the importance of holding Trenton, so did Cornwallis and he took vigorous measures to recapture the town and drive out the garrison left there. The American army occupied points along the Delaware for a distance of twenty miles, and its rapid concentration was ordered, to occupy Trenton in force before Cornwallis could execute a similar movement with similar intent. In a few days after the battle of the 26th the work of concentration was so far accomplished that Washington was prepared to cross the river with a large force The boats necessary to make the passage were collected at the different remote points with the divisions of the army, and it was a far more difficult thing to collect them at a common centre than it was to mass the troops. The channel of the river was filled with large masses of floating ice that was carried rapidly forward by the swift current, while from both shores the ice extended out some

distance. Under such circumstances, navigation was well nigh impossible. Add to the obstacles the fact that above Trenton the enemy scoured the country to the river. The Rev. John Bosbrough, a brave and patriotic Presbyterian divine who had raised a battalion of troops, was murdered in a farmhouse near Pennington, a few days after the battle of the 26th. Below Trenton equal vigilance was exercised in watching the river. In the face of such impediments it is safe to believe that none of the boats from McConkey's ferry could be made available at Trenton, and it is equally unlikely that any of those located at Bristol by Cadwallader could be propelled ten miles up stream under the conditions I have described. The conclusion seems unavoidable that Colvin had but a very limited number of boats at his command, and also that he was the chief reliance of Washington in the contemplated forward movement. It is only under the most trying circumstances that a general will risk a battle with a broad river in his rear unless he has reliable means of communicating with the opposite shore. A reverse under different conditions is apt to be followed by a disaster.

Washington was ready before Cornwallis was. He had calculated all the terrible risks that attended the movement and felt that he could safely reach his base and place the Delaware between him and his pursuers if he met with a reverse. On the 1st and 2d of January, 1777, the American army, 4,500 strong, effected the passage of the Delaware at Colvin's ferry. Colvin himself acting a conspicuous part, directing the boats with courage and skill. When Cornwallis entered Trenton in the afternoon of the 2d he found Washington in a strong position on the south bank of the Assanpink and vigorously attacked him. When darkness put an end to the battle the British were everywhere driven back and the Assanpink was in some places almost choked with their dead. About 10,000 men were engaged. An aggressive movement on Princeton was planned that night and was followed by a victory next day. It virtually decided the campaign in our favor, and when Washington went into winter quarters at Morristown, soon after, he was master of New Jersey.

In the summer of 1777 the British left New York to execute some secret movements and Washington's army proceeded to Philadelphia. On July 29th of that year Lord Stirling's command crossed at Patrick Colvin's ferry. In a few days events of almost equal importance with those just narrated were enacted upon the soil of New Jersey at Trenton. In the summer of 1781 Washington

confronted the enemy in New York and had made preparations to attack him. Suddenly changing his plans he began his toilsome march to join Lafayette in Virginia. He reached Trenton late in the afternoon. It was important that he should move rapidly: 1st to render pursuit useless; 2d to form a junction with Lafayette, who was hard pressed. There was no delay at Trenton. Patrick Colvin was at his post as usual and ferried the army across the river to continue its long march unobstructed.

Once more he appears in History: On the 6th of April, 1789, the American Congress in session in New York declared George Washington of Virginia to have been elected first President of the United States. His passage through the States was a continuous ovation. He left Philadelphia on April 21st in the midst of a disagreeable rain; the party riding in a closed carriage. "It was ten o'clock that day when the party arrived at the old stone ferry-house at Colvin's ferry now Morrisville. Here Patrick Colvin, the owner of the ferry, took charge of the Presidential party and personally ferried them over the river." [*Washington's Reception by the People of New Jersey in 1789.* By Wm. S. Stryker, Adjutant-General of New Jersey.]

He was a committee of one to welcome the Father of His Country on the banks of the historic Delaware, at the borders of Trenton. It gives him a prominence in history that he richly deserves and which many may well envy. They had met there before under far different circumstances, when he had performed similar duties for the great Virginian. The banks of the river on the Jersey side were lined with old Revolutionary soldiers and officers and distinguished civilians of the city and State; and yet in recognition of Patrick Colvin's services and devotion to the principles of the Declaration of Independence they paid him the compliment of permitting him to "take charge of the Presidential party." In time of war he was the genius that made the icy Delaware subservient to his will. Now that peace had dawned upon the country, all felt that he should be especially honored in his chosen sphere of operations where he had no successful rival. [John D. McCormick, RESEARCHES, Jan., 1887.]

"A record of the times reads: Trenton, April 21, 1789. General Washington arrived at Colvin's Ferry about 2 o'clock this afternoon. Patrick Colvin was on hand and, though he is now an old man, he insisted on taking personal charge of Washington's party and conveying them across the river."

PETITION OF PATRICK COLVIN TO CONGRESS, 1778.

The annexed petition and the action of Congress thereon shows the importance of Colvin's Ferry:

To the Honourable Continental Congress,
Sitting at Philadelphia:

The Petition of Patrick Colvin of Trenton ferry, Falk Township, Bucks County, in Pennsylvania, humbly Sheweth.

That your Petitioner, for want of proper Boats, &c., Cannot do Justice to the Publick as usual, in Crossing the said Ferry. As the said ferry is well known to be in the Directest way from Philadelphia to Trenton, Princeton, Brunswick, &c. Is Expected to be attended with such proper Conveniences of Boats, and Flatts, as is at Present out of your Petitioners power to procure, Whereby your said Petitioner becomes the Object of Insult and threats. Now as your Petitioner is well Informed, that there is a Number of Boats, and flats at some of the other Ferry's on the River Delaware at this Present time not in Use; Your Petitioner therefore humbly craves that your Honours would be Pleased to give or Direct such Orders, for some of the Boats as above hinted, for the better Accommodating the said ferry under my care, As you in your Wisdom shall seem Good, And your Petitioner as in Duty Bound shall ever pray.

PATRICK COLVIN.

July 24th, 1778.

[*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 42, Vol. II, fo. 48.]

Whereupon *Resolved*, That the Quartermaster-General be directed, if he has any boats or flats belonging to the public at any of the ferries on the river Delaware unemployed, to lend two of them to Patrick Colvin, to be by him employed at Trenton ferry for the accommodation of the public. [*Journal*, XI, 789.]

THE BATTLE OF TRENTON—BISHOP O'FARRELL BLESSES THE CORNERSTONE OF A MONUMENT—HIS ADDRESS.

At Trenton, on December 26, 1891, Governor Leon Abbott laid the cornerstone of a monument to be erected to commemorate the Battle of Trenton, December 25-6, 1776. Rt. Rev. Michael O'Farrell, D.D., blessed the stone, recited the prayer for all in authority and delivered an address, which is of such Catholic-American Revolutionary interest as to be worthy of preservation. In the extracts herewith, he said:

"The duty and glory of patriotism will be sufficiently developed in the speeches of the gentlemen who are to follow and, therefore, for the sake of brevity I shall confine myself to an explanation, from my point of view of the glories of the event which serve to throw light on the importance of the event under consideration. These three things are: the character of the person who conceived and directed the means by which the event was accomplished; the time when it occurred and the place where it happened. With regard to the chief actor, the whole country to-day is unanimous in proclaiming the preëminent merit of George Washington. He was a man raised up by Providence to guide the American people through the dark and stormy period of the struggle for their rights and their liberties. When Providence has planned the exaltation of a people, He sends them a leader filled with His light and strength. So he dealt with the Jewish people when groaning under the tyranny of the Syrian Kings they cried out to Him for mercy and protection. He raised up unto them the valiant Judas Machaebus and his brethren to fight unto death for the independence of their fatherland.

"Thus, also, when the great mystery of the sanctification and redemption of the world was to be accomplished, He sent the Precursor to prepare the way for the coming of His Divine Son. We are, indeed, expressly told by Scripture that 'there was a man sent by God whose name was John,' who came to give evidence of the truth. So, too, we may proudly and lovingly believe that God raised up for the American people in their death struggle against oppression another leader, George Washington, to guide with undaunted heart his people through their long years of combat for their natural rights as freemen.

"As regards the time when this event took place, I, as a Catholic Bishop, love to see a coincidence, worthy of a Christian heart, in the fact that it was prepared and begun when the whole Christian world was celebrating the arrival of the great Messiah Who brought truth and freedom to the world. He came at midnight when the world was buried in darkness and in the shadow of death, but the heavens were illumined by His presence and the angels sang the immortal GLORIA IN EXCELSIS—Glory to God in the Highest and on earth peace to men of good will.

"May we not, then, believe that the brightness of that Christmas night fell upon the soul of Washington scattering the doubts that had so long worried him, filling his heart with new courage to meet the dangers of the coming morning. The time, also reminds us that on this day the Christian Church celebrates the noble martyrdom and the glorious death of St. Stephen who thus had the honor of sealing his faith with the testimony of his blood. Next to such a death for the God of truth and holiness should we not place the death or the will to die for Home or Country."

ST. MARY'S HISTORICAL GROUND.

"Besides I have a special interest in commemorating the place connected with the event, since St. Mary's Cathedral has been erected on old historic ground intimately connected with the battle. The defeated leader of the enemy breathed his last on the very spot whereon stands the present St. Mary's Rectory. Here I may be allowed to express the feeling that no nobler ground could be consecrated to divine worship than that soil on which the God of Battles had granted so decisive a victory to the struggling patriots of America.

"In speaking of the place, I am also reminded of some less important events which have not been chronicled by our historians, but which on a day like this, it will be beneficial to recall to our memories. They regard the conditions of the ferries between Trenton, its borders and the neighboring State of Pennsylvania. All who have studied intimately the history of the Revolutionary struggle and the part that New Jersey had to take in it, will understand how important it must have been to Washington to be able to transfer his troops easily and expeditiously from the eastern to the western bank of the Delaware and return when occasion demanded. To do so it was necessary to have full control of the

ferries on the Pennsylvania side. In a few obscure notices preserved by antiquarians (among which General Stryker is prominent, who has made part of American history his own) singularly enough we find two Irishmen having control of the boats of the two principal ferries.

"McConkey, an Irish Presbyterian, owned the ferry at Taylorsville, and an Irish Catholic, Patrick McColvin, was owner of the ferry opposite Trenton at Morrisville. McColvin owned all the property from 1772 to 1792 which Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution purchased and to which he gave the name of Morrisville, which it still retains. Now, Washington, having decided to cross the Delaware above Trenton, selected McConkey's ferry, in order to surprise the enemy more effectively. The battle took place and was won in a little more than an hour. It now seems to be admitted that Washington, instead of retracing his steps back to McConkey's ferry with all his prisoners, took the shorter ferry and passed over to Morrisville, thus saving his troops the long journey and to prevent the English soldiers from arriving in time to intercept him. The ferry was the one held by Patrick McColvin That McColvin must have rendered important service to Washington, not only on that day but on several other occasions, we naturally infer from the fact that when he, in 1789, passed through Trenton, to be inaugurated first President, in New York City, Patrick McColvin had full charge of the entire Presidential party. I, indeed, rejoice to say that two Irishmen on the day of Trenton's battle, the Presbyterian McConkey and the Catholic McColvin put aside their religious differences to sacrifice themselves, if need be, upon the altar of American liberty.."

So said Bishop Michael O'Farrell at the blessing by him on December 26, 1891, of the cornerstone of a monument erected at Trenton, New Jersey, to commemorate the Battle of Trenton. He names the ferryman as McColvin, but Colvin alone was his name.

CANADIANS FRIENDLY TO THE REVOLTING AMERICANS.

Here are a few records of the many obtainable to show the friendly spirit with which the inhabitants of Canada responded to the early manifestations of the Americans of a willingness to coöperate in the endeavor to oppose Great Britain:

Samuel Mott to Governor Trumbull from Ticonderoga, August 3, 1775: "The Canadians are generally armed, but have little or no ammunition, otherwise it is most likely they would rise in opposition to the present methods, as they are highly incensed at the restoration of the old French laws with their priestly and other burdens." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, 3, 18.]

A letter from Ticonderoga, August 4, 1778: "The Canadians are determined not to fight against us unless forced by a formidable army. About three weeks ago an attempt was made to force the Canadians to take up arms, and they were about to hang some in every parish, when the Canadians rose in a body of near 3,000 men disarmed the officer that was after recruits, and made him flee, being determined to defend themselves in the best manner they could by a full resistance, rather than be forced to arms against the Colonies. The common people there cannot bear to have the old French laws take place again amongst them, as they will be thereby plunged into enormous taxes." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, 3, 26.]

The writer was Samuel Mott who on 3d wrote same to Governor Trumbull.

Colonel James Livingston, writing to General Schuyler, August, 1775, said: "General Carleton has made a proposition to the Canadians in case they would enlist under the Crown of Great Britain, to gratify every man that will turn out upon this occasion, with 100 acres of land at Boston New York, &c. The proposition was heard with disdain. Col. McLean who arrived here with Col. Johnson has orders from the King to raise a Regiment of Canadians upon those terms; and I can assure you from Three Rivers to Chambly he got not a single man. I believe he got a few in and about the suburbs of the town of Montreal. My best wishes and those of the Canadians attend you." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, 3, 469.]

Edwin Martin Stone's *Invasion of Canada* in 1775 [Providence, 1867], says: "Whatever might have been the contingent purpose of Congress in reference to Canada, a disclaimer of an intended invasion was deemed, under the circumstances, expedient." And accordingly on the 1st of June [1775] such a disclaimer was made. But a violent proclamation issued by the British Governor, denouncing the border inhabitants of the Colonies as trustees, and inciting the Indians against New York and New England, changed the current of opinion in Congress and led to an avowal of an aggressive purpose.

In July, preliminary to a movement of this character, Maj. John Brown, accompanied by four men, visited Canada for the purpose of obtaining intelligence in regard to the military preparations making there by the King's troops, the situation at St. John's, Chambly, Montreal and Quebec, and also to ascertain the feelings of the Canadians towards the Colonial cause. They found them favorably affected, were kindly received by the French, were often protected when exposed to danger, and were assured it was their wish to see a Continental army in Canada; engaging, if it came, to supply it with everything in their power. The Indians also expressed a determination to act with the Canadians. They returned August 10th.

Letter from before Quebec, December 6, 1775, said: "Providence smiles on us in a remarkable manner. The Canadians say, 'surely God is with this people or they could never have done what they have done.' They are all astonished at our march through the wilderness, which they say was impossible and would not believe our coming until they had ocular demonstration of it." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, 4, 204.]

"The Canadians are friendly to us and join us in great numbers," General Schuyler to New York Provincial Congress, from Ticonderoga, September 29, 1775.

"The Canadians, in general, on this side the St. Lawrence are very frendly to us; almost unanimously so along the River Sorel, where they are actually embodied and in arms altogether to the number of more than 1000." [Letter from *La Prairie*, Nov. 3, 1775; *Am. Ar.*, 4, 3, 1342.]

"I find the inhabitants very friendly this way," General Arnold to John Manor at Sartigan, November 7, 1775. [*Am. Ar.*, 4, 3, 1328.]

General Schuyler, writing from Ticonderoga, November 6, 1775, to Washington, said that "previous to the reduction of Chambly and the success of our troops in repulsing the attack of Monsieur Regouville, who was sent from Montreal with 240 men, and expected to be joined by the inhabitants of three of the most populous parishes in the south side of the St. Lawrence; in which he was disappointed to a man, and which has in some measure evinced the temper of the Canadians towards us, and given us better assurances than any we have had of their friendly disposition, for until then their real sentiments were problematical." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, 3, 1374.]

A gentleman in Quebec writing to London, November 7, 1775, said: "The garrison numbered 2,500 but the French cannot be much depended on. Indeed, would you believe it, the French, whom the Government has done so much for, and relied upon, have taken up arms against us, several of whom are now prisoners amongst us." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, 3, 1396.]

Brook Watson writing to John Butler from Montreal on October 19, 1775, that prior to the attempt of Colonel Ethan Allen to capture Montreal (September 25, 1775), and his capture "nine-tenths of the Canadians were for the Bostonnais." [*Am. Ar.*, Series 4, 3, 1601.] He also wrote the same to Governor Franklin of New Jersey, a Loyalist though he was the son of Benjamin Franklin.

When General Arnold arrived in Canada after a march which General Schuyler declared did him "great honor" and "which some future historian will make the subject of admiration for his readers" for "marching such a body of troops through a country scarcely trodden by human foot," Arnold reported to Schuyler, November 7, 1775: "We have been very kindly received by the inhabitants who appear very friendly and willing to supply us with provisions." [*Am. Ar.*, 4, 3, 1634.]

CANADIANS CHANGE.

But all this friendliness was lost by the actions of the Americans in manifesting their anti-Catholic bigotry. The despicable double dealing of the Continental Congress also wrought destruction of the friendly spirit shown by the Canadians.

Here is a record, one of many, to show the change and its cause. A letter from Montreal dated March 24, 1775, stated:

The Address from the Continental Congress attracted the notice of some of the principal *Canadians;* it was soon translated into very tolerable *French.* The decent manner in which the religious matters were touched; the encomiums on the *French* Nation, flattered a people fond of compliments. They begged the translator, as he had succeeded so well, to try his hand on that Address to the People of *Great Britain.* He had equal success in this, and read his performance to a numerous audience. But when he came to that part which treats of the new modelling of the Province; draws a picture of the Catholick Religion, and the *Canadian manners,* they could not contain their resentment, nor express it but in broken curses. "Oh! the perfidious, double-faced Congress; let us bless and obey our benevolent Prince, whose humanity is consistent, and extends to all Religions; let us abhor all who would reduce us from our loyalty, by acts that would dishonour a Jesuit, and whose Addresses, like their Resolves, are destructive of their own objects." [*Am. Ar.,* Series 4, Vol. II, p. 231.]

FATHER GIBAULT REGRETTED THE LOSS OF BRITISH RULE.

Father Gibault, on May 22, 1788, from Port Vincennes, Illinois, wrote the Bishop of Quebec:

"As for opposition to me because of the fear that I may have been or was active for the American Republic, you have only to reread my first letter in which I gave you an account of our capture, and my last letter in which I sent you a certificate of my conduct at Port Vincennes, in the capture of which they said I had taken a hand, and you will see that not only did I not meddle with anything, but on the contrary I always regretted and do regret every day the loss of the mildness of British Rule." [*Ill. His. Col.,* V, 585.]

MICHAEL GAROUTTE, FAITHFUL TO OUR COUNTRY BUT NOT TO HIS RELIGION.

Michael Garoutte was born in Marseilles, France, in 1750. His father, Antoin Garoutte was an Admiral in the French navy, and when Antoin was in Marseilles Jan. 19, 1695, his father, Henry Garoutte, was Attorney General for the southern division of France. The brothers and sisters of Michael Garoutte all died young except Madaline. She married Le Noble Antoin Joseph d'Espenosey. They lived at Signes, a small town near Triton. Their son, General d'Espenosey was member of the House of Representatives that formed the first Republic of France. In the Armorial of France, folio 737, is found the rescription of the Garoutte coat-of-arms.—I. M. G. [*Am. Monthly*, Jan., 1908, p. 60.]

Here is a copy of the record of his baptism:

Michael Garoutte, son of Antoine Garoutte, wealthy Captain of a vessel and Admiral and Anne D'Lascour, born to-day, 12 April, 1750, and christened and announced in this church, Les Accoulles. Godfather, Michael Rouseer; Godmother, Marie Bense; the father, Antoine, being absent; signed, Miguellys, Priest.

He died at Pleasant Mills, N. J., 29 April, 1829.

Mary Agnes Hatfield of Kalamazoo, Mich., a descendant, writes us: "Michael Garoutte was without doubt a Catholic. Tradition has it he was educated for a priest, but at the death of his brother decided he must carry on the business of his father who was evidently in the merchant marine. Perhaps Lafayette's coming to America influenced him somewhat, as they are supposed to have been friends from boyhood."

On October 25, 1778, at Pleasant Mills, New Jersey, he married Sophia Smith, daughter of James Smith. They had thirteen children. Sophia was a Methodist, a good strong one and if Michael had any intention of having his children trained in the Catholic faith he gave it up. He made his first return visit to France in 1787, while he was there he evidently promised his only sister that she might have his oldest child to train in the faith of her fathers. The sister wrote to Sophia saying her brother had promised to send her his oldest daughter. Evidently Sophia was not meek and humble for daughter didn't go and as far as we can trace not one of her decendants are members of the Catholic Church though many were Methodists.

Another grandson of Michael's who lived either in or near Pleasant Mills says, "His Grandfather Michael is spoken of in town records as 'Lieut.', that he recalls how on public holidays Michael used to 'dress up' in his Continental uniform. That in 1824 when Lafayette was here as guest of the nation—this grandson—his brother drove to Philadelphia, got Lafayette, brought him out to Pleasant Mills to visit Michael."

That part is an error, as Lafayette did not go to Pleasant Mills from Philadelphia.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE THE DOCTRINES OF THE FATHERS AND DOCTORS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

"Centuries ago the Church proclaimed the immortal doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, and preached the equality of all men before God and before the law. The principles of the Declaration are the doctrine of her Fathers and Doctors." So Bishop McFaul, of Trenton, New Jersey, declared in his Pastoral of 1908.

"There is not a principle of American Republicanism which Bartholomew De Las Casas, resting on the foundation of the Canon Law [Church Law] and preaching ever from its text, 'The true Rex is Lex,' (the true king is the law), does not set forth to the Spanish monarch, as the only legitimate foundation and measure of their authority whether in Old or New Spain." And again: "Two centuries and more before Thomas Jefferson wrote, the Spanish friar, not as a new doctrine, but simply as a revival of the old doctrine which every Christian is bound to accept, proclaims to the monarchs and to the people every proposition which was to resound thereafter from the Philadelphia State House. Government resting on the free consent of the governed; the right of a people, not out of mere caprice, but by free and reasonable choice to change its form of government which, if it contradicts them, loses all claim to allegiance, and all those things as the expression of the divine wisdom and will, and therefore as an essential part of religion." So Rev. Charles C. Starbuck, of Andover, Mass., a Congregationalist, wrote in *The New World*, a Boston magazine, in a sketch of Las Casas, a Spanish Dominican, as we learn from *The Sacred Heart Review*, April 4, 1908.

MEMORIAL OF CHEVALIER SAURELLE.

To the Honle. the Delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

THE MEMORIAL OF THE CHEVALIER SAURELLE.

Humbly shewedth—That your memorialist is a young officer who, after serving two years as a volunteer in the Artillery at St. Domingo, obtained the rank of lieutenant in that corps to which he has preferred offering his services to the Honble Congress as a letter from Mr. De La Valletiere, Governor of St. Nicholas Mole shews, which letter, intended for the Honble Congress or General Washington, is without a direction, owing to the Governor's being unacquainted with the proper form of address.

Which is humbly submitted to the Honorable Congress.

LE CHEV'ER SAURELLE.

[Endorsed: Read August 29, 1776. Referred to the Board of War.]

[From the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 41, IX, folio 1.]

THE CHEVALIER DE BORRE.

Washington's letter to Congress respecting De Borre:

HEADQUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN,
5th April, 1777.

Sir—The inclosed from Monsr. le Chev. de Preudhomme de Borre, with the papers annexed to it, were received this day by the Eastern Mail. It appears that by an agreement with Mr. Dean he is to have the Rank and Pay of a Brigadier General in our service.

I imagine by this, that he is a Man of real Merit. If you think proper to confirm Mr. Dean's appointment, be pleased to inform me of it, and return the Letter, that I may give a suitable answer. If, as I imagine, he does not understand English, it will be some time before he can be of any Use at the head of a Brigade.

I have the honour to be
with the greatest respect, Sir,
Yr most obedt servt.,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

[*Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 152, IV, folio 61.]

CATHOLICS OF MARYLAND AND THE REVOLUTION.

In a speech, the first he delivered, by Mr. Kennedy, of Washington County, in the Maryland House of Delegates, on the Bill entitled "An Act to extend to all the Citizens of Maryland the same civil and religious privileges that are employed under the Constitution of the United States," said:

"For almost three score years the Catholics of Maryland were doomed to suffer a worse than Egyptian bondage, but their day of redemption came at last and when the oppression and folly of the British government drove the people of this country into a Revolution, no wonder the Catholics of Maryland were found foremost in the ranks; no wonder that they were all, or nearly all, Whigs and a Catholic Tory a rare character.

"And this was a favorable crisis for them to insist on a restoration of their civil and religious privileges; they were a large and respectable portion of citizens, and they could use, with propriety, language such as this to their Protestant brethren, "The question of American Independence is about to be settled; War is at hand and our blood must flow, and our fortunes be spent in the cause of our Country; We have with you felt the evils of tyranny and oppression, which the British government have so long and so unjustly they have attempted to tyrannise over our minds and because we have adhered to the religion of our fathers; they have disfranchised us, proscribed us from office, denied us the enjoyment of civil rights, and branded us as dangerous members of society. This state of things must not longer continue, we must no longer be punished for our religious opinions; we must no longer be proscribed from office, we must no longer pay double taxes, nor must we be taxed at all for the support of the ministers of another religion for we hold those truths to be self-evident, 'That all men are created equal' and 'that it is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to Him.' We ask no peculiar privileges but we ask to be put upon an equal footing with the rest of our fellow-citizens; we ask as freemen of Maryland the restoration of those rights recognized and acknowledged by the first Founder of the State; this done and we are satisfied this granted and we are with you, heart and hand, our motto, 'Independence or Death.'

"And could requests so reasonable have been denied by those patriotic men, who were taking up arms to resist the encroachment and the tyrannical measures of Britain? Could they have consistently refused to do justice at home? No; it would have been impossible! The religious test to Catholics was abolished. The Church of England was no longer the established Church, and taxation for its exclusive support was done away forever. This was a great victory gained by the Catholics. It was granting them all that they had ever asked; all that they ever claimed in Maryland, even when they were in power. And it was to satisfy them that the 35th Article of the declaration of rights was inserted, which is in these words: 'That no other test or qualification ought to be required, on admission to any office of trust or profit than such oath of support or fidelity to this State—and a declaration of a belief in the Christian religion.'" [*U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, Vol. VI, September 12, 1826.]

Rev. Boucher, Episcopalian, of Queen Anne's parish, Prince George County, Maryland, a Loyalist who fled to England and in 1796 published a book in which he said:

MARYLAND CATHOLICS AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

"All that the Catholics of Maryland seem yet to have gained by their compliance is that they were not driven into exile nor their property confiscated. I have not heard that they have in general been trusted like others by their new allies much less that they have been distracted by any favors. Their leader [Charles Carroll] has been a member of Congress and once was on an Embassy; a relative of his, however, is now the Popish Bishop in the State; This Bishop is spoken of as a man of worth, ability and some things which I have seen of his writings proves that he is a respectable man. Under the prevailing latitudinarian principles of the Government of North America they, like other religions, are no longer molested on account of their religion nor are they stigmatized by any legal disqualifications. . . . Their emancipation (which term they were soon taught to give to their being taken out of the protection of the Government of Great Britain) has been rather nominal than real." [P. 244.]

CLEMENT SEWALL AND JOHN BYRNE, PATRIOT CATHOLICS OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA.

When the Revolution began there were in Alexandria, Virginia, nine Catholic men. Within a month all had joined the army of Patriots. Colonel John Fitzgerald became Aide-de-Camp to Washington. The names of but two others are known. George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of Washington, in his *Recollections* preserves the record of these two. He says:

"It has been my fortune to know Catholic as well as Protestant soldiers of the War of the Revolution. Clement Sewall was my neighbor and my firm friend. He was a brave soldier, a good citizen, and an honest man. A fine youth, he joined the famed Maryland line, a volunteer; was promoted for his gallant conduct on the field of battle; and, after hard service, returned to his home with a shattered limb and the consciousness of having done his duty. And there was poor John Byrne, a noble fellow, who from the very depths of human misery rejected all temptations to leave our service; and while crawling on the deck of a prison ship, naked, famished and desolate, still cried out to our enemies, 'Hurrah for America!'" [Wm. F. Carne, in *Ave Maria*, June 30, 1900.]

PHILADELPHIA CATHOLICS WHO PAID MILITARY FINES FROM MARCH, 1777, TO APRIL, 1783, COLLECTED BY LIEUTENANT AND SUB-LIEUTENANTS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Capt. Byrn's Co.
Rodger Flahanen £11
Garrick [Garrett] Cottinger.... 13

Capt. Bradford's Co.
Rodger Flahaven £13

2D BATTALION.

Capt. Paschal's Co.
George Mead £13

Capt. Beren's Co.
Thos. Fitzsimons £13

Capt. Rush s Co.
Barnard Faris £13

Capt. Austin's Co.
John Rudolph £11

Capt. Peale's Co.
John Sowerwald £9

Capt. Fisher's Co.
Redman Byrn £13

Capt. McCartney s Co.
Jas. Reynolds £13
John Carroll £13
Redman Byrne £13
Jas. Reynolds $520
" " 420

[From *Accounts of Philadelphia.* By John Nicholson, at Ridgway Library.]

MARCHES AND ENCAMPMENTS OF THE ARMY UNDER THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

In the Year 1781

From Abbe Robin's Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale

DATES	CAMPS	Distances Eng. Miles
June	From Newport, R. I.	
11	To Providence . . .	30
11 to 20	*Halt*	
20	To Waterman . .	15
21	To Plainfield	16
22	To Windham . . .	16
23	To Bolton	16
24	To East Hartford .	12½
25, 26	*Halt*	
27	To Farmington . .	12½
28	To Baron's Tavern .	13
29	To Breakneck . . .	13
30	To Newtown . . .	15
July		
1	*Halt*	
2	To Ridgebury . . .	15
3	To North Castle . .	20
4, 5	*Halt*	
6	To Philipsburg . . .	22
August		
20	To Northcastle . .	22
21	To Crompond . . .	14
22	To King's Ferry . .	18
23, 24	*Halt*	
25	To Stony Point . .	5
26	To Sufferns	16
27	To Pompton	14
28	To Whippany . . .	16
29	*Halt*	
30	To Bullion's Tavern .	16
August		
31	To Somerset	17
Sept'ber		
1	To Princeton . .	13
2	To Trenton	12
3	To Lion Tavern . .	15
4	To Philadelphia . .	15
5	*Halt*	
6	To Chester	16
7	To Newport	18
8	To Head of Elk . .	18
9	To Susquehanna Ferry	16
10	To Burk's Tavern .	14
11	To White Marsh . .	15
12	To Baltimore . . .	12
13, 14, 15	*Halt*	
16	To Spire	16
17	To Coath	18
18	To Annapolis . .	8
	Halt until the 21st, when sail was made on Chesapeake Bay for Jamestown.	
October		
25	To Jamestown . . .	178
26	To Williamsburg .	6
28	Before York	12
	Total miles	756
	Total Encampments	39

[*Mag. Am. His.*, July, 1881.]

"MY RELIGION NO OBSTACLE TO SERVING MY COUNTRY"—DR. JOSEPH CAUFFMAN'S APPLICATION TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FOR SERVICE IN "ONE OF THE MOST GLORIOUS CAUSES WHICH MAN E'ER BEHELD FROM THE VERY CREATION OF THE WORLD"—GIVES HIS LIFE FOR THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF HIS COUNTRY.

In Book II of CATHOLICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION [pp. 215-216] is an account of Dr. Joseph Cauffman, a Catholic of Philadelphia, a graduate of the University of Vienna, born in Philadelphia in 1755, who, while Surgeon of the United States frigate "Randolph," lost his life on March 7, 1778, off Barbadoes when that vessel, commanded by Captain Nicholas Biddle, was blown up after an encounter with the British cruiser "Yarmouth."

The following letter from the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, in the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, is young Doctor Cauffman's application to that Patriot and Minister to France for service in aid of his country.

It is an evidence of the nobility of the character of the young graduate and of his devotion to his Religion that he professed his Faith, declaring it could be no obstacle to serving his country.

VIENNA, 23d of April, 1777.

Sir: Difference of station, the most honourable place you hold in one of the most glorious causes which man e'er beheld from the very creation of the world and the numberless occupations which the love of mankind & our dear Country has ever conferred upon you, restrained long since the ardent desire I had of writing to you. However at length I thought it an essential part of my duty to pay my respects to a man for whom I have always nourished the highest esteem & veneration not only as one famous in literature & of the most unblemished character but much more as one to whom Posterity is so much indebted for his glorious endeavors to maintain the liberty of almost one-quarter of the world. Surely, then, Sir, you'll not take amiss my boldness especially if you consider that presumption itself, if well grounded, is laudable.

I was born in Philadelphia & sent abroad in the most tender years to imbibe knowledge, particularly in the medical way. I have

studied a considerable time in this University where I have had the satisfaction to see my labours crowned with honour. My only wish & desire is to prove one day or other serviceable to my country for which, tho' my youth & my not having accomplished my studies till now have rendered me hitherto incapable, I should be happy in spending the rest of my days, my repose & blood. Let our foolish modern moralists ridicule love for one's country as much as they please, I shall always think it the first duty of man to serve his country, as much as ever lies in his power, it being the dictate of reason, nature and own proper respect. Though I have not had the honour to serve America in person still I have the satisfaction to think that I am in some measure concerned. The present war has put me into somewhat critical circumstances, as my father has been thereby hindered in sending my remittances. However I glory in this small misfortune, as I am, at least in some respect, touched by the present calamities. How happy should I be if I could partake of everything in person! It is chiefly for this reason that I make bold to trouble you with the present. I have applied myself with an indefatigable zeal to my studies in order to prove some day or other a worthy citizen of America, to which the success I have had convinces me I can be serviceable at least in the branch which I profess; witness the enclosed attestations which I thought myself bound by duty to send you, that you may be convinced of my sincerity & nothing less than boasting. One of 'em is from the renowned Dr. De Huin, the other from the learned Dr. Stoll, his successor. I have particularly studied anatomy & surgery thinking that the army will stand in most need of these two branches. If therefore you find my preference of the least service in the present contest, I am ready to return to my native shore by such means as you shall be pleased to prescribe to me, being much more content with a less lucrative but still more glorious station than with the more brilliant office which I have reason to expect in this University, for our Country is always to be preferred to any other whatever in the world, especially when it is engaged in an affair that concerns its *aras et focos*. But should you think it more advisable for me to remain sometime longer in Europe in order to enable myself in some other branch &c., I submit to your advice and judgment, only beseeching you to point out some way by which I may be supplied from my Father with necessary remittances towards the prosecution of what you may advise me. If you should desire to be informed

on any matter whatever in or concerning the Austrian Dominions, &c., which can be of any service to our Country, you can but command; no pains shall be thought too great, no stone left unturned, to procure you the proper information, & tho' you may be, as is natural, somewhat diffident in trusting anything to an unknown person, still you'll certainly always find in me a faithful & an honest man. Put me to the trial, & let the event speak. This is but a hint of what would with reason be enlarged.

I have given no description of my family, as I suppose it is known to you; all we have to boast of is honesty & this I think is sufficient in the depraved age we live in. Nor do I imagine my being educated in the Catholic Religion will prove any obstacle to my serving my Country & doing the duty of an honest & worthy citizen. I cannot [persuade (?)] myself that such great & thinking men, under whose direction America so gloriously proceeds will by any ways oppose my ardent desires for so trivial a reason. Certainly the many able . . . which they have bestowed on the public, to the admiration of all Europe, convince me of the contrary. But to make an end of talking I finish by beseeching you to secure the wish of one who would be happy in contributing something to American Liberty & showing on all occasions the high esteem he has for a man whom the Almighty has bestowed on our Country as its Saviour & Protector.

Sir I remain with due
respect your ever devoted Servant

Jos. Cauffman.

P.S.—I make bold to beg the favour of a line or two at leisure in answer to the enclosed. My directions are—Monsr. Jos. Cauffman, M. D. & Memb. de faculté en Medecine à Vienne, Austriche.

N.B.—Many able officers, even of rank, who have served in both the last wars in Germany have expressed a desire of taking part in the present contest, provided they have previous intelligence of the conditions upon which such steps could be undertaken. Several have begged me to write you on this topic which I have done by way of hint in compliance with their respected bequests. I beg you would forward the enclosed attestations either to America or send them back to Vienna. If you send any to America be pleased to direct to my father.

THE CHEVALIER DE PONTGIBAUD, MAJOR IN CONTINENTAL ARMY AND AIDE-DE-CAMP TO LAFAYETTE.

Charles Albert, one of the two sons of César de Moré, Lord of Chalièrs and Knight of St. Louis, was born April 21, 1758, at Clermont Ferraud, ten miles from Pontgibaud. His career in youth and manhood may be read in *A French Volunteer of the War of Independence*, but these not being relevant to our purpose are not related here.

The war for American Independence being on and Lafayette engaged therein, the Lord of Chalièrs considered this "a lucky chance" to send to Lafayette "this fiery young man and at the same time open up to him the career of a soldier."

So the young Chevalier de Pontgibaud, less than twenty years, "went off with a light heart to help the Americans gain their liberty," at "an age when less adventurous youth are quietly pursuing their studies."

So with "an allowance of 100 louis a year and 2,000 crowns counted down at the port "of La Rochelle the young Chevalier took passage on the ship *Arc-en-liel* and sailed for the New World."

After a voyage—"a very bad one"—of sixty-seven days the ship arrived at Chesapeake Bay at nightfall, the Captain intending to enter the next morning to proceed to Baltimore. Obliged to enter the James River, owing to a fog, the vessel was soon "within a couple of cannon shots of the British war vessel the *Isis* of 64 guns and soon drifted within range and there went aground near Hampton. The shore pirates then pillaged the vessel and robbed all the passengers. So that the Chevalier had nothing, he relates, "except the clothes on my back and no money except nine or ten louis I chanced to have in my pocket."

From Hampton he "set out to join the army" of Washington, then at Valley Forge, where he believed he would "run no risk of dying of hunger," though "it was a long journey to make on foot." At Williamsburg he met Frenchmen who recommended him to complain of the robbery to Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia. He did so and was given a certificate "recommending me to the charity of all with whom I should meet."

So he walked all the way to Valley Forge, "through sand and

forest," through mud, rain and discomforts of November and December, his baggage consisting "of a single shirt, a flask filled with gin and a pocket of bad maize bread, five louis in purse and a passport signed "Jefferson." "At last, early in November, I arrived at Valley Forge," he writes in his memoirs, but it was probably early in January, 1778, as Washington did not encamp there until late in December, 1777.

"Soon I came in sight of the camp. My imagination had pictured an army with uniforms, the glitter of arms, standards, etc., in short, military pomp of all sorts. Instead of the imposing spectacle I expected, I saw, grouped together or standing alone, a few militia men, poorly clad and for the most part without shoes; many of them badly armed, but all well supplied with provisions and I noticed that tea and sugar formed part of their rations. In passing through the camp I also noticed soldiers wearing cotton nightcaps under their hats, and some having for cloaks or great great-coats, coarse woolen blankets exactly like those provided for the patients in our French hospitals. I learned afterwards these were the officers and generals. Such, in strict truth, was the appearance of this armed mob, the leader of whom was the man who has rendered the name of Washington famous; such were the colonists—unskilled warriors who in a few years learned how to conquer the finest troops England could send against them. Impressed by these sights which had quite destroyed my illusions, I made my way through this singular army to the quarters of the Marquis de la Fayette. I presented myself to him and told him frankly my whole story. He listened to my history with attention and kindness, and at my request enrolled me as a volunteer. He also wrote to France and before long received the reply confirming my statements. He then appointed me one of his *aides-de-camp*, with the rank of Major, and from that moment never ceased to load me with benefits and marks of confidence. The Marquis de la Fayette presented me as his *aide-de-camp* to the Commander-in-Chief.

"When I arrived at the camp I was in a pitiable condition, but the Marquis de la Fayette had the extreme kindness to furnish me with the means of procuring a horse and a suitable equipment. A plan was proposed to effect a diversion by attacking Canada, where, we were informed, we should find few troops to oppose us, and towards the middle of January, the Marquis de la Fayette went to take command of the troops round Albany. . . . The projected

attack on Canada was postponed, for some reason of which I am ignorant, and we returned to Valley Forge. . . .

"We returned to the camp at Valley Forge about the 15th of March. The enemy were still quiet in Philadelphia, dancing and drinking in true English style, and deeming themselves perfectly safe. We were not sufficiently strong to attempt to dislodge them, and were obliged to wait till 15th of April when our recruits and reinforcements were to arrive. We remained inactive till then. The weather was still very cold. . . . By 15th of April our reinforcements had arrived and we were preparing to open the campaign when we learned, with as much surprise as pleasure, that the British army had received orders to evacuate Philadelphia and fall back on New York. Their army was composed of veteran soldiers, was superior to us in numbers, and moreover, protected by intrenchments. We imagined that the Cabinet at London had probably heard of the expected arrival of the squadron under Comte d'Estaing. The British prepared to leave Philadelphia and retire upon New York. They had to cross two rivers—the Delaware and the North River—before arriving at New York. We prepared to harass their rear-guard. General Washington was anxious to afford the Marquis de la Fayette every opportunity to distinguish himself, and ordered him to take a strong body of troops and cross the Schuylkill, at a spot on the left of the British position, and cut off their rear-guard, if the opportunity should occur.

"We left about midnight, silently crossed the Schuylkill, and took up a position in a wood very close to Philadelphia, in order to be able to reconnoitre the enemy at daybreak and attack if we had the chance. The main body of our army was ready to support us in less than two hours if we signalled for help. The British, who had spies amongst our men, were soon informed of our plans. They made a sortie, carried the weak post we had established on the banks of the Schuylkill to secure our retreat and then marched in our rear, hoping to catch us between two fires. Our little army, ignorant of the danger of the position, was about to be caught in a trap. It happened otherwise, however. We had bivouaced, and were resting, and waiting for daybreak. Fortunately a surgeon had heard of this night march of the garrison of Philadelphia to cut off our retreat and take us in the rear. He had searched along the banks of the river and found a ford where there was only three or four feet of water. I was lying on the ground near our General when the

surgeon came up and whispered the information he had found out and the discovery of the ford, of which we did not expect the existence. La Fayette, awakened by the sound of our voices, asked what was the matter, and the surgeon repeated what he had told me. Our General was admirably cool. He quietly told the surgeon to return to his post and as soon as he had left, ordered me to mount my horse and see for myself that the information was true. I ascertained that the surgeon was quite correct. The order to march was given and our retreat effected quietly and promptly and our little army crossed the Schuylkill in good order. We were drawn up on the right bank and made the signals previously agreed upon. The enemy did not dare show himself, being afraid of being caught in a snare. Our expedition, which had served to puzzle the enemy, brought a good deal of praise to our General, which, to say the truth, he deserved, but thanks were also due the cautious and watchful surgeon who found the ford so opportunely—nothing was said about *him*, however. A few days later the British army had evacuated Philadelphia. We followed it almost within sight and at Rareton [Raritan] River General Lee attacked the enemy's rear-guard in the morning. This was composed of 7,000 men, the flower of the army, and comprised the regiment of Foot Guards. I was present at this affair where the Marquis de la Fayette was under Lee's orders. We were thoroughly beaten, our soldiers fled in the greatest disorder, and we could not succeed in rallying them, or of even getting thirty men to keep together. As usually happens the General who commanded was accused of treason. This was my first battle. The stragglers reformed behind our main army whilst the British had the impudence to pursue us with reinforcements. General Washington waited for them in a strong position with all his army drawn up in battle order. The English had a deep ravine to cross before they could reach us: their brave infantry did not hesitate an instant, but charged us with the bayonet and was crushed by our artillery. The Guards lost half its men and the Colonel was fatally wounded. This engagement was called the Battle of Monmouth. The heat was so excessive that we found soldiers dead without having received a wound. We slept on the field of battle amongst the dead whom we had not time to bury. The day had been so hot, in both senses, that everyone had need of rest. There was no further fighting until the English reached New York. We arrived before the city at almost the same moment as

they entered it. We should have needed one hundred thousand men to attack the place and we had but fifteen thousand."

After relating the attempt of Arnold to betray West Point to the British and the capture of André, the Chevalier continues:

"All this passed at a very little distance from our camp. I had gone, out of curiosity, to see the Generals arrive and so was a witness, by accident, of this great drama. The inn-keeper told me that three militiamen had arrested a very suspicious looking person who had offered them money to let him go free, and showed me the place where he was confined. I went to see him and spoke to him, but as I did not know Major André by sight I imagined the man to be nothing more than one of the enemy's spies. I was not the only person astonished a quarter of an hour later. General Washington arrived with his staff and having been told of the arrest, ordered Colonel Hamilton to go and examine the accused and bring back a report. I followed the Colonel. The low room was very dark, and as night was falling, a light was brought. The Colonel sprang back in astonishment and dismay on recognizing Major André. Colonel Hamilton ordered the militiamen not to lose sight of their prisoner for a moment and hurried back to the General."

After relating the trial and execution of André, the Chevalier continued:

"A little later Comte d'Estaing appeared before New York with a fleet of twelve vessels of the line and several frigates. . . . The Marquis de la Fayette gave me a letter of introduction to d'Estaing, which I presented, though I was a trifle nervous at the idea of an interview with such an important personage. He received me very well and asked me a good many questions which I was easily able to answer. I was closeted with him fully two hours. I partook of a most excellent dinner on board the Admiral's vessel and was, therefore, much surprised to hear Comte d'Estaing complain that he was in need of the necessaries of life. I announced the speedy arrival of fifty fat oxen—which caused universal pleasure—that before I had ceased speaking the good news was being conveyed by speaking trumpet or signals to all the vessels of the fleet. All the officers surrounded me and cross-questioned me as to our position, forces, &c. I was quite an important personage. At last I took leave of Comte d'Estaing, who entrusted me with despatches to Washington. I remember that he also gave me some kegs of lemons and pine-apples which he had found on a prize he had cap-

tured. To regain the camp I had a voyage of twenty miles to make in a boat. I was so hungry during the night that I devoured several of the pine-apples; and they nearly killed me."

After relating the siege of Newport, Rhode Island, by the British and the abandonment by d'Estaing who repaired to Boston, Chevalier de Pontgibaud relates:

"The Chevalier de Preville, who commanded the three frigates intended to protect our communications, wrote to me to ask if he could obtain some supplies for his sailors. I handed his letter to the Marquis de la Fayette. General Sullivan authorized me to take a detachment and forage between the two camps. For twenty-four hours I was in chief command and had to make all the military and gastronomic dispositions required. The space between the enemy's forts and our lines was covered with houses and gardens, the owners of which had deserted them, not caring about living between two fires. My work had to be carried out right under the enemy's nose, and I fully expected there would be some bullets to receive. I had requisitioned all the carts I could find and filled them with fruit and not a shot was fired. The frigates, being informed by signal, of my expedition, sent off a number of boats and I protected the convoy to the beach. You should have seen the gusto with which the sailors devoured the apples and with what alacrity they unloaded the carts of potatoes and other vegetables. They hailed me as the good fairy of the fleet and when I went on board I was enthusiastically welcomed. After the siege of Newport was raised we returned to camp. General Washington and Congress decided to send La Fayette to France to ask for further supplies of men and money, the American paper money having fallen into utter discredit."

So with Lafayette the Chevalier de Pontgibaud returned to France. After six years when the Revolution had won the Independence of the Country he returned to America to collect his arrears of pay. He received in pay and interest ten thousand dollars, and after a brief stay in Philadelphia returned to France. His further career, not coming within the lines of this work, may be read in his *Memoirs* or in an article on "The Pontgibaud Brothers" in *The Rosary Magazine* for April, 1910.

Concerning his religious faith, though it is assumed that the vast majority of the French officers, soldiers and sailors helpful in aiding our Country, were Catholics, yet we have required some

evidence, however slight, that any specially spoken of were Catholics in profession at least. That evidence is given in the following letter sent us:

(Translation.)

PONTGIBAUD, PUY-DE-DOME, June 21, '10.

Sir—M. Geoffrey de Grandmaison forwarded to me a few days ago a letter from you in which you ask if my grand-uncle, the Count of Moré,—or the Chevalier de Pontgibaud,—who served in the American War (of Independence) as artillery officer under General de la Fayette, was a practical Catholic. I can assure you that he was a *Catholic*, that he *had the faith*, and that he *died as a good Catholic*; but I would not be surprised if, in the course of his *adventurous* life there were times when he was more concerned with *temporal* than with *spiritual* affairs; yet it is none the less certain that he was a *good Catholic*, having had a father and mother who were themselves very good Catholics.

Kindly accept, Sir, the assurance of my very distinguished regard. LE CTE. DE PONTGIBAUD.

N.B.—The underscoring is in the original.

THE CHURCH AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

Rev. I. T. Hecker, in *The Church and the Age*, pages 126-7, says of the Declaration of Independence:

"These were declarations of no new truths, for they spring from right reason and the primitive instincts of human nature, and belong, therefore to that natural order which had ever been asserted and defended by the great theologians and general councils of the Catholic church. These truths underlie every form of political government founded in Catholic ages, correspond to the instincts of the people, and were only opposed by despots and Protestant theologians; and the erroneous doctrines concerning the natural order were brought into vogue by the so-called Reformation. Our American institutions, in the first place, we owe to God, who made us what we are, and in the next place to the Catholic church, which ever maintained the natural order, man's ability in that order, and his free will. Under God the founders of our institutions owed nothing to Englishmen or Dutchmen as Protestants, but owed all to the self-evident truths of reason, to man's native instincts of liberty, to the noble traditions of the human race upheld by God's Church and strengthened by the conviction of these truths; their heroic bravery and their stout arms did the rest."

WASHINGTON'S COMMENDATION OF THE FRENCH ARMY CORPS UNDER THE DUKE DE LAUZUN.

The French Army being about to return to France after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, Washington addressed this letter to the Duke de Lauzun who had operated on the left wing of the Allied Armies in that campaign and encounter:

I have now the honor to mention to you, as I did some time ago to the Minister of France, that, viewing the peace so near a final conclusion, I could not hold myself justified in a desire to detain the troops under your command from the expectations of their sovereign or to prevent their own wishes of a return to their native country and friends.

Nor can I omit, on this occasion to express to you, Sir, and to all the brave officers and soldiers of your corps, the high esteem I have for them, and the regard I shall ever entertain for their services in the cause of the United States, to whose independence and establishment as a nation they have contributed a noble share

Your particular services, Sir, with the politeness zeal and attention, which I have ever experienced from you, have made a deep and lasting impression on my mind, and will serve to endear you to my remembrance. It would have been a great satisfaction to me to have had further opportunity to give you, in person, the assurance of my regard, could your orders have admitted your longer continuance in the country. But my regret at parting with you will be somewhat softened by the flattering hope you are pleased to give me, that I may have the satisfaction of embracing you again in America; when you may be assured I shall ever most heartily rejoice in an opportunity of having it in my power to convince you of the very particular esteem and attachment, with which I have the honor to be, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To the Duke de Lauzun.

ADDRESSES TO THE FRENCH OFFICERS—THE MERCHANTS OF BALTIMORE TO ROCHAMBEAU.

From the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Aug. 31, 1782.

BALTIMORE, August 22, 1782.

Sir—The merchants of Baltimore are too sensible of the harmony which has subsisted between the troops which your excellency commands and all orders of the inhabitants, not to feel anxious to make known their satisfaction before your departure. We do not pretent to be judges of the discipline of armies: but from the brilliant and signal services which your army has rendered to this country; from the watchful attention which your soldiery have had over every species of our property—from the decorum and order which they have uniformly preserved, both in their camps and in the town—and from the great politeness of the officers, on every occasion, we cannot but acknowledge ourselves deeply impressed with the most lively ideas of its perfection, and with a gratitude which, from its nature, must be perpetual. And we are happy in this opportunity to declare, that had the prejudice against the French nation been real, which the English have so pertinaciously attributed to the Americans, the residence of your excellency and the army in this place must have convinced us how little credit ought to be given to the popular maxims of * a people who have ever been sincerely our friends.

Permit us, Sir, to assure you, that the only regret which we experience is on the prospect of the removal of your army, and our incapacity to make a proper return for its great services and distinguished care of the privileges of citizens.

In behalf of the merchants, we have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Your excellency's most obedient servants,

WILLIAM SMITH,
SAMUEL SMITH,
THOROWGOOD SMITH.

REPLY.

BALTIMORE, August 22, 1782.

Gentlemen—It cannot but be very agreeable to me and the troops under my command to perceive that the discipline observed by them has been the means of keeping between them and the in-

* "Of" seems to mean *concerning*.

habitants of this city the harmony and good understanding which we have always been anxious to maintain with our allies.

Your willingness to receive us in your houses, your attentive politeness to us, have been a sufficient return for the services which we have been so happy as to render you. We have our full reward in fulfilling, to our mutual satisfaction, the intentions of our Sovereign. THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

To the Merchants of the City of Baltimore.

THE LEGISLATURE OF RHODE ISLAND TO ROCHAMBEAU.

From the *Pennsylvania Packet,* Jan. 4. 1783.

The governor, council and representatives of the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in general assembly convened, being excited by the sincerest attachment and respect, present their most affectionate and cordial acknowledgments to your excellency and the officers and troops composing the army under your command, for the great and eminent services rendered since your first arrival in this state.

Nothing can equal our admiration at the manner in which your have participated with the army of the United States in the fatigues, the toils and glory that have attended the allied arms, but [that for] the magnanimity of the father of his people, and the protector of the rights of mankind.

Our inquietude at the prospect of your removal would be inexpressible, but from the fullest conviction of the wisdom that directs the councils of his Most Christian Majesty.

May Heaven reward your exertions in the cause of humanity, and the particular regard you have paid to the rights of the citizens. And may your laurels be crowned by the smiles of the best of kings, and the grateful feelings of the most grateful people.

Done in general assembly, at East-Greenwich, this 27th day of November, A. D. 1782, and in the seventh year of Independence.

I have the honor to be, in behalf of the council and representatives, with great esteem and respect, your excellency's most obedient and very humble servant, W. GREENE, Governor.

By order.

Samuel Ward, D. Sec.

To his Excellency Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the army of his Most Christian Majesty in the United States.

REPLY.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 28, 1782.

Gentlemen—It is with an inexpressible pleasure that I and the troops under my command have received the marks of esteem and of acknowledgment, which you are so good as to give to the services which we have been happy enough to render to the United States, jointly with the American army, under the orders of General Washington.

This State is the first we have been acquainted with. The friendly behaviour of its inhabitants now, and at our arrival here, will give them always the right to our gratitude.

The confidence you have in the wisdom of the views of our sovereign, as to the disposition and march of his troops, must likewise assure you that on no occasion whatever he will separate his interest from those of his faithful allies.

LE CTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

To the Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

The above are true copies
Witness Henry Ward, Sec.

THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON TO THE BARON DE VIOMÉNIL.

From the *Pennsylvania Packet,* Jan. 8, 1783.

Sir—The freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, legally assembled in Faneuil-Hall, congratulate your Excellency on your safe arrival in the capital of this commonwealth. It is with particular pleasure that we embrace this opportunity, of testifying the singular respect with which we regard your Excellency and the gallant army under your command, sent by His Most Christian Majesty, the illustrious ally of the United States, to their succor, and crowned in this service with the most brilliant success and permanent honours.

We can assure your Excellency, that no part of the United States can be impressed more deeply with every sentiment becoming the most faithful allies towards the King, your Sovereign, and the nation which he governs with so much glory; or can entertain a higher sense of the great merits of his land and naval forces in

America, than the inhabitants of Boston. Our whole country attests the perfect discipline, the uncommon good order and civility which these forces have constantly preserved; a circumstance, among many others, which, while it leaves the most agreeable impressions on the minds of the inhabitants in every quarter, and must be extremely favorable to the publick friendship, cannot but at the same time heighten our regret at their departure. Wherever these forces may still be employed, may Heaven defend their persons, prosper their valour, and add new glories to their names and to that of their nation.

Your Excellency we are sure will be pleased, that upon this occasion we do not forget to mention, with the utmost respect, the name of Count ROCHAMBEAU, your predecessor in this important command; whose distinguished services in America can never be forgotten, and to whom also we ardently wish every felicity.

May the happy alliance with France never be dissolved or impaired! In the support of which such expenses have been incurred —such toils endured—such valuable lives exposed—such great actions displayed, and such generous blood offered! And may the reciprocal fruits of it to both nations be perpetually augmented.

To His Excellency, the Baron Vioménil, General and Commander of the forces of His most Christian Majesty in the United States of America.

REPLY.

Gentlemen—It belonged to the Count de Rochambeau much more than to myself to receive those distinguished and flattering testimonies which you have been pleased to give to the conduct of the troops, placed by the choice and confidence of the King in his hands, in order to serve the cause of your liberty. It is by pursuing the intentions of his Majesty, and the orders, the particular instructions, and the example of the General which he gave us, that we have been able to inspire you with those sentiments of esteem and attachment, of which you now assure us in expressions that do us the greatest honor.

All the principal officers of this army are, as well as myself, gentlemen, extremely touched with your suffrage in their favor; it in a manner insures to them the approbation of the King, and is a very flattering recompence for the care they have taken to maintain discipline in the regiments which they command. The other

officers by whom they have been perfectly seconded, will also be penetrated with the same sentiments; and the whole army sees with satisfaction, how thoroughly you are persuaded, that it is to the perfect union that has reigned between the American troops, the marine of the King, and the French corps under the orders of the Count de Rochambeau, that France and the United States are indebted for that success you so kindly applaud.

Permit me also, gentlemen, to seize the present moment for declaring to you our admiration of the virtues, the talents, and the accomplishments which so particularly distinguish His Excellency General WASHINGTON. We all desire that the homage of our respects and of our warm wishes for his preservation and happiness, may be agreeable to him as a testimony of the satisfaction we have had in serving under his orders.

I may venture to assure you beforehand, gentlemen, that the King will very sensibly feel the good wishes which the inhabitants of the town of Boston have so ardently made for the glory of his reign, and the prosperity of the nation which he governs. The disinterestedness and the wisdom of the views of his Majesty in all that he has done for the support of the independence of America, do not admit a doubt that the next destination of this army will still contribute with efficacy to the complete establishment of that object: To whatever part of the earth his orders may send it, all who compose this corps, will ever remember, with much sensibility, the pleasing wishes you have expressed for us on our departure.

The assurances of your affection, and the expression of your desires for the maintenance of an alliance, which his majesty regards as one of those happy events that have marked his reign, leave not the least room to doubt of the duration of this union, or of the great advantages that will result from it to the two nations in all times to come.

For myself nothing, gentlemen, could flatter me more than the particular marks you have been pleased to give me of your esteem. I beg you to accept, together with all the thanks I owe to you, my most sincere respects and assurances, that I shall ever form the warmest wishes for the prosperity of the United States in general, and for the happiness of the citizens of Boston in particular.

THE NUNS AT NANTES, FRANCE, MAKE A MASONIC APRON AND OTHER MASONIC ORNAMENTS FOR PRESENTATION TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Elkanah Watson, in his *Memoirs,* relates that when in business at Nantes, France, in 1781, wishing to pay some mark of respect to our beloved Washington, I employed, in conjunction with my friend, M. Cossoul, nuns in one of the convents at Nantes to prepare some elegant Masonic ornaments, and gave them a plan for combining the American and French flags on the apron designed for his use. They were executed in a superior and expensive style. We transmitted them to America accompanied by an address, and received from him a beautiful and appropriate acknowledgment. The following are copies of our letter and the reply:

"*To his Excellency, General Washington,* America.

"Most Illustrious and Respected Brother:

"In the moment when all Europe admire and feel the effects of your glorious efforts in support of American liberty, we hasten to offer for your acceptance a small pledge of our homage: Zealous lovers of liberty and its institutions, we have experienced the most refined joy in seeing our chief and brother stand forth in its defence, and in defence of a new-born nation of Republicans. Your glorious career will not be confined to the protection of American liberty, but its ultimate effect will extend to the whole human family, since Providence has evidently selected you as an instrument in his hands to fulfill His eternal decrees.

"It is to you, therefore, the glorious orb of America, we presume to offer Masonic ornaments, as an emblem of your virtues May the Grand Architect of the universe be the Guardian of your precious days for the glory of the Western Hemisphere and the entire universe. Such are the vows of those who have the favor to be by all the known numbers,

"Your affectionate brothers,

"Watson & Cossoul.

"East of Nantes, 23d 1st month, 1782."

"State of New York, Aug. 10, 1782.

"*Gentlemen*—The Masonic ornaments which accompanied your brotherly address of the 23 of January last, though elegant in them-

selves were rendered more valuable by the flattering sentiments and affectionate manner in which they were presented.

" If my endeavors to avert the evil with which the country was threatened, by a deliberate plan of tyranny, should be crowned with the success that is wished, the praise is due the GRAND ARCHITECT of the universe Who did not see fit to suffer His superstructure of justice to be subjected to the ambition of the Princes of this world, or to the rod of oppression in the hands of any power upon earth.

" For your affectionate vows permit me to be grateful and offer mine for true brothers in all parts of the world and to assure you of the sincerity with which I am

" Yours,

" GEO. WASHINGTON.

" Messrs. Watson & Cassoul, East of Nantes."

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

On August 17, 1780, Carlos III King of Spain called upon his American subjects for a donation towards paying the expenses of the war with England, fixing the contribution of each Spaniard at two dollars and each Indian vassal at one dollar. This amount was not levied as a tax but asked as a free gift.

Commandant General Marquis de Croix, of the Northern Province of Mexico, resided at Arizpe in Sonora just outside of what is now the southwestern boundary of Arizona. He forwarded the request of the King to California, August 12, 1781. The amount collected through the Missions has been recorded as follows:

San Francisco, $373; Monterey, $833; San Carlos, $106; San Antonio, $122; San Luis, $107; Santa Barbara, $249; Los Angeles, $15; San Gabriel, $134; San Juan and San Diego, $229; San Diego Presidio, $515. Total, $2,683. [*California in the Revolution*, by Margaret B. Harvey; *Am. Mo. Mag.*, Oct., 1902, Vol. XXI, p. 282.]

FATHER BARAGE, OF NANTES, FRANCE, RESENTS THE LACK OF REVERENCE TO THE BLESSED SACRAMENT BY ELKANAH WATSON, AN AMERICAN, 1781

In *Men and Times of the Revolution; or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson Including Journals of Travels in Europe and America from 1777 to 1842 with His Correspondence with Public Men and Reminiscences and Incidents of the Revolution:* New York, 1856, p. 110, he relates while in Nantes, France, the following:

One of the most critical and remarkable events of my life occurred in the month of March, 1781. The Marshal de Casteries, the Minister of Marine, was passing through Nantes on his way to Brest for the purpose of dispatching the Count De Grasse with the fleet, which subsequently acted with so much efficiency against Cornwallis. Half the population of the city, prompted by their curiosity, poured in a torrent beyond the gates to meet the Marshal and his retinue. I threw myself into this living current. As soon as the "avant courier" appeared in the distance the immense crowd paraded on either side of the road. At the moment the Minister and his retinue approached, a little bell tinkled on the opposite side, in directing the passage of the "Bon Dieu" enclosed in a silver vase and by a Catholic priest on his way to administer the Sacrament to a dying believer. The bell was held by a small boy who preceded the *sacred* procession; four men supported a canopy over the priest's head and forty or fifty striped peasants, in wooden shoes followed. Custom obliged all to kneel as this venerated "Bonu Dieu" passed by; but on this occasion most of the spectators, owing to the deep mud, leaned on their canes, with hats in their hands in a respectful posture. The couriers checked their horses—the carriages stopped and all were thrown into confusion by the unfortunate presence of the "Bon Dieu." At this moment the priest, as if impelled by the spirit of malice, halted the procession and stopped the Host directly in front of the place where I stood and, to my utter amazement, pointing directly at me with his fingers, exclaimed "aux genoux" (upon your knees). I pointed in vain to the mud, and the position of those about me similar to my own. He again repeated in a voice of thunder "aux genoux." My Yankee blood flamed at this wanton attack, I forgot myself and with a loud voice replied in French, "No, Sir, I will not." The populace thunderstruck to see their "Bon Dieu" thus insulted, fired with fanaticism, broke their ranks and were pressing on me with violent imprecations. A German gentleman, an acquaintance and then at my side, exclaimed to

me "for God's sake, drop in an instant." Alarmed at my critical situation, I reluctantly settled my knees into a mud puddle. Every one within my hearing who were respectable, Catholics and Protestants, condemned the rash and inexcusable conduct of the priest.

My keenest sensibilities were outraged and I vowed vengeance upon the audacious priest. The next afternoon I set off armed with a good hickory to trace out his residence, and to effect my determination I proceeded to the spot where the offence had been committed, entered the hut of a peasant and inquired the name of the priest who the day before had passed with the "Bon Dieu." He replied, "Ma foi oui, ce Monsieur Barge." (Yes, faith, it is M. Barage.) He pointed to the steeple of the church where he officiated near the suburbs of the city. I soon found his house and pulled the door rope. A good-looking, middle aged woman—the housekeeper—soon appeared. Contrary to her interdiction, I sprung into the court-yard and proceeded directly to the house and made my way to his library. The priest soon appeared, demanded my business exclaiming, "I was a murderer or robber," and ordered me to quit his house. I sprung to the door, locked it and placing the key in my pocket approached him in a hostile attitude. I compelled him to admit that he recognized my features. I then poured forth my detestation of him and of the tyranny of the French clergy. I told him I was a native of North America, the ally of France; that I was under the protection of Dr. Franklin and would not leave him until I had received adequate remuneration for the unprovoked insult I had received. In a word, I insisted upon his apologizing to me in the same posture in which I had been placed.

In taking my leave I assured him I should proceed with the American Consul, and enter formal complaint against him to the Bishop. This threat alarmed him and he fervently urged my forbearance. I went, however, immediately to our Consul, Colonel Williams, and communicated to him these incidents. He apprised me of the extreme danger I should be subjected to from the hostility of the priests and admonished me, as the safest course, to prosecute the affair no further. By his advice and that of Tom Paine I changed my lodgings and for two or three weeks avoided the streets. No further unpleasant consequences resulted from this extraordinary occurrence. Although I escaped with impunity on this occasion, it is far from my wish to inculcate a spirit of opposition to established forms of religion in any country. It is at best a dangerous business and one treads among thorns and pitfalls.

TIMOTHY MURPHY.

Captain John Lowdon's Company of Col. William Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen of Pennsylvania were sworn in at Northumberland, June 29, 1775. They marched to Prospect Hill, Boston, and there aided in besieging Boston in possession of the British. The privates were from the West Branch Valley near and north of Sunbury. Among them was Timothy Murphy who became noted in the annals of border warfare. Murphy was with Captain Parr under Col. Morgan at Stillwater and Saratoga and was the soldier who shot General Fraser in the action of October 7, 1777. [Simm's *Schoharie*, p. 259; Lossing's *Field Book of Rev.*, I. 62.]

Murphy was on General Sullivan's expedition against the Iroquois Indians of Western New York in 1779. On September 12th Sullivan sent Lieut. Boyd with 27 men to secure information relative to Genesee Castle of the Indians. They were ambushed and fifteen killed. Of the few who escaped was the noted Timothy Murphy an account of whose hair-breadth escapes and deeds of reckless daring would fill a volume, says the historian of the expedition, Rev. David Craft in Centennial volume, p. 141.

Doty's *History of Livingston County*, New York, says: Timothy Murphy, a private soldier of marvelous coolness and boldness, famous alike as a border fighter and a scout was a member of Boyd's party (172). Though a "volume" might recite Murphy's adventures the annexed relation given by Benjamin F. Stevens in the *Herald* of Boston, August 25, 1895, may suffice to estimate the character and deeds of this "Irish Catholic hero of the Revolutionary War who is too little known to the present generation," said *The Republic* of Boston, August 31, 1895, in an article headed:

"Brave Timothy Murphy—A Neglected Irish Catholic Hero of the Revolution—The Dead Shot of Morgan's Rifle Corps—A Famous Indian Fighter—Seven Years of Dangerous Duty and Never Wounded—Burgoyne's Defeat at Saratoga May Have Been Due to His Markmanship."

It is to historian William L. Stone to whom the world is indebted for directing attention to this neglected hero. See his History of the Battles of Saratoga and Stillwater.

After describing the momentous defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga and showing the prominent part which Colonel, afterwards

General, Morgan and his crack shot played in winning the victory, Mr. Stevens continues as follows:

After the surrender of Burgoyne, Morgan took his sharpshooters back to Washington and they participated in several engagements, notably the battle of Monmouth. But the Indians on the frontier of New York, most of whom had deserted from Burgoyne, came back from their homes in Canada and made war upon the innocent settlers. A detachment of Morgan's riflemen, among whom was Murphy, was sent to again rid the country of them. After his time of service had expired, he entered the New York militia and served as a Sharpshooter and Indian fighter to the close of the revolution. His skill in Indian warfare was such that, although not the commander, he usually directed all the movements of the scouts: no commanding officer could afford to neglect his advice.

Few of the present generation know that such a man as Timothy Murphy existed, or that he was, par excellence, the "crack shot" of a corps of men, each of whom had achieved notoriety with the rifle, Morgan's men having been picked for the service they had enlisted for. It was not alone for his unerring sight that Murphy was noted in the camp of General Gates before Saratoga. His coolness and daring also made him a man to be feared. It is related that just before the first battle of Saratoga on Sept. 19, 1777, known as the fight at Bemus Heights, Murphy went out of the American camp, and having ascertained the British countersign, he went into the enemy's camp, and seeing in one of their tents an officer writing alone, he whispered to him (pointing to his hunting knife), that if he spoke a word he would make daylight shine through him. The officer not having a sword or pistols near him, reluctantly marched before him to the American camp.

HE WAS AS FLEET OF FOOT

as the fastest of his Indian adversaries; his double rifle, his quick sight, fleetness and unerring aim made him an object of dread and of vengeance to the red men; they formed many plans to destroy him, but he always eluded them and sometimes made them suffer for their temerity.

He fought the Indians with their own weapons. When circumstances permitted, he tomahawked and scalped his fallen enemy, in this respect simply following the example set him by the Indians,

the hirelings of Burgoyne, of whose cruelties the history of the "thirteenth decisive battle of the world from Marathon to Waterloo" is full. Witness one instance only—the dreadful murder by tomahawk and scalping of the beautiful Jane McCrea. Murphy boasted after the war that he had slain forty Indians with his own hand, more than half of whom he had scalped. He also took delight in perilous adventures, and seemed to love danger for its own sake.

The Indians were unable to conjecture how he could discharge his rifle twice without having time to reload, for a double rifle was almost unknown in those days, and his singular good fortune in escaping unhurt led them to suppose that he was attended by some invisible being who warded off their bullets and sped his with unerring certainty to the mark. When they had learned the mystery of his double-barreled rifle they were careful not to expose themselves too much until he had fired twice, knowing that he must have time to reload his piece before he could do them further injury.

One day, having separated from his party, he was pursued by a number of Indians, all of whom he outran excepting one; Murphy turned round, fired upon the Indian and killed him. Supposing that the others had given up the pursuit he stopped to strip the dead, when the rest of his pursuers came in sight. He snatched the rifle of the dead Indian, and with it killed one of his pursuers, the rest, now sure of their prey, with a yell of joy heedlessly rushed on, hoping to make him their prisoner. He was ready to drop down with fatigue and was likely to be overtaken, when, turning round, he discharged the remaining barrel of his own rifle, and killed the foremost of his pursuers. The rest, astonished at his firing three times in succession, fled, crying out that he had a great medicine of a gun that would shoot all day without loading." Indeed, so dangerous was Murphy regarded that it was not long before the British set

AN EXTRA PRICE ON HIS SCALP,

a price that was never paid, although many Indians lost their scalps in trying to win the reward.

One of the attempts to capture him which is still handed down in Schoharie tradition, as having occurred toward the close of the revolution, was as follows: He had a cow, on the neck of which he had placed a bell that he might more easily find the beast in the woods. A shrewd Indian took the bell off the cow's neck, and having placed in on his own, went jingling it about in the woods,

hoping by this means to entice the dreaded rifleman within killing or capturing distance. The scout knew too well the different music produced by a cow and an Indian, and so, driving the animal home from another part of the woods, he left the "ding-dong" warrior to the enjoyment of his own wit.

On another occasion he and twenty-five others were surrounded by 500 Tories and Indians, under Butler and Brant. Two attempts to cut their way out had failed, with the loss of seventeen of their number. The third attempt was more successful; for Murphy, having tumbled a huge warrior into the dust, effected an opening in the circle, through which he and his comrades fled. After a little, Murphy observed that he had distanced all his pursuers except two—one a tall and the other a short Indian. Several times as they neared him he would raise his rifle (which was unloaded), whereupon they would fall back. Finding as he ran that, owing to the swelling of his feet, his moccasins began to pain him, he opened a clasp knife, and while running slit the tops of the moccasins, and so got relief. Then his feet caught in some long grass and he fell full length. It was to this at first seemingly untoward accident that he owed his temporary safety and final escape; for the long grass affording a favorable place for hiding, he lay still until his pursuers had passed on.

Loading his rifle he went on his way rejoicing; for had he been captured he knew no mercy would be shown him, since, in addition to his well-known character as a dead shot, he had an Indian's scalp in his pocket and the same hairless redskin's moccasins upon his feet. He had not gone far, however, before he saw an Indian coming toward him. The discovery was mutual, and they simultaneously took to trees. Murphy adopted the old worn-out ruse; he drew his ramrod and placing his hat upon it gently moved it on one side of the tree. The Indian at once put a ball through it, and it dropped; whereupon running up to obtain the scalp, he received Murphy's bullet in the breast; and as he fell he exclaimed "O-nah," meaning that he was astonished at his reception. Instead of one the scout had two scalps in his pocket.

At the close of the revolution Murphy married and settled in Schoharie as a farmer, but his old habits still clung to him. Many Indians returned to Schoharie and settled among a people whose houses and barns they had burned and whose friends and relatives had fallen beneath their tomahawks. Among them was one Indian

named Seth Henry, who had killed more Schoharie people than any other redskin. His nature even for an Indian was an unusually cruel one; he would sometimes leave a war club upon the dead body of his victim, with a row of notches cut upon it, each notch indicating a scalp taken.

THIS BRUTAL SAVAGE

had the audacity to come back into this quiet settlement of farmers. One day he started to go from one house to another. Murphy was also observed to go in the same direction shortly afterward; and it is a curious coincidence that as far as can be ascertained Seth Henry never reached his destination nor was he ever after seen by mortal eyes.

The instances of his goodness of heart are numerous. On one occasion he saved two men from drowning at the risk of his life by wading into the river among floating pieces of ice, during a freshet in which, in addition to human lives, many cattle and sheep were lost. He was a good citizen as well as head of a family, and brought up his children with credit. Yet he could neither read nor write, and when offered rank by Morgan he always declined it, well knowing that his want of education unfitted him to command men. He simply did his duty as he understood it.

To his last day he maintained the reputation he had won as a sharpshooter in Morgan's corps. It was a custom in those days for riflemen to shoot for a prize—generally a gallon of rum, for old Medford was the standing tipple. On one occasion a large oak tree had been blazed near the ground, and in the circle a small piece of white paper was fastened by a brass nail. The distance to be fired was over 100 yards. Several close shots had been made, and it became Murphy's turn to fire. He lay down on the ground at full length, resting his rifle on his hat, as the others had done, and after glancing over the barrel, he was heard to say: "Sure, and I believe I can see that nail." Again he sighted his piece, fired and the paper fell. An examination showed a centre shot; the ball had driven the nail exactly in.

As late as 1799, sixteen years after peace had been declared, four riflemen of revolutionary days met at a friend's house in Blenheim, N. Y., to talk over old times. Before separating it was proposed to shoot at a mark. A target was made by pinning a small piece of white paper to a board some two feet long. One hundred

yards were paced off from their standing point to which the target was taken by one of the four, who held it between his knees to receive the bullet of a comrade, who in turn was to hold it for another, it being thus alternately held until all had fired. Each of the first three shots cut the edge of the paper—William Leek on the right, David Elerson on the left, and the other, whose name is unrecorded, on the bottom.

MURPHY MADE THE LAST SHOT

and the paper fell. His shot drove the pin through the board. Elerson and Murphy were comrades in the same company of Morgan's in many a hazardous adventure.

In person Murphy was stout and well made, handsome in face, with jet-black hair and an eye that would kindle and flash like the lightning when excited; quick as a cat in all his movements, and possessing an iron frame that nothing apparently could affect. What, moreover, is very remarkable, that in the most dangerous duty that war could possibly entail upon him, in which he passed seven years of army life, his body was never wounded or even scarred.

Although, as has been stated, Murphy could neither read nor write, he became a powerful stump speaker. This patriotic sharpshooter lived a respected citizen of Schoharie until 1818. But there is no monument to mark the resting place of one who turned the tide of battle at Saratoga in favor of the cause of the colonists.

TO KOSCIUSZKO.

Good Kosciuszko, thy great name alone
Is a full harvest whence to reap high feeling;
It comes upon us like a glorious pealing
Of the wide spheres—an everlasting tone.
And now it tells me, that in worlds unknown,
The name of heroes, burst from clouds concealing,
And changed to harmonies, forever stealing
Through cloudless blue, and round each silver throne.
It tells me, too, that on a happy day,
When some good spirit walks upon the earth,
Thy name with Alfred's, and the great of yore,
Gently commingling, gives tremendous birth
To a loud hymn, that sounds far, far away,
To where the great God lives forevermore.

—*John Keats.*

PROPOSED CAPTURE OF NOVA SCOTIA BY THE AMERICANS—TREATY WITH THE CATHOLIC INDIANS—ATTITUDE AND SUFFERINGS OF THE ACADIANS.

In November, 1775, Congress resolved that "two persons be sent at the expense of these Colonies, to Nova Scotia to inquire into the state of that colony, the disposition of the inhabitants towards the American cause, the condition of the fortifications and dock-yards, the quantity of artillery and war-like stores, and the number of soldiers, sailors, and ships of war there and transmit the earliest intelligence to General Washington."

So on November 24th, Washington appointed Aaron Willard to be one of the persons to undertake this business; and as the season is late and this work of great importance I entreat and request that you will use the utmost despatch, attention and fidelity in the execution of it. The necessity of acting with a proper degree of caution and secrecy is too apparant to need recommendation."

The associate of Mr. Willard, on this mission, was Moses Child. These commissioners proceeded by land to the borders of Nova Scotia where they were met by two proclamations of the Governor of that province; the one "warning all persons, that they do not in any manner, secretly or indirectly, aid or assist with any supplies whatever any rebel or rebels nor hold intelligence or correspondence with them, nor conceal, harbour, or protect any such offender, as they would avoid being deemed rebels and traitors, and proceeded against accordingly," and the other "forbidding any strangers to be in Halifax more than two hours, without making their business known to justice of the peace, upon the pain and peril of being treated as spies."

The commissioners thought it prudent to return to Cambridge, where they reported little else, than that "from their own knowledge, and the best information from there, about eight parts in ten of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia would engage in the common cause of America, could they be protected."

The grounds upon which they stated that belief is not stated. [Sparks' *Writings of Washington,* Vol. III, pp. 170, 272, 334.]

An account of Willard and Child's endeavors may be read in *The American Archives,* 4th Series, Vol. III, p. 1665. "Nova Scotia is manifestly well affected to the cause of America." [*Ibid,* p. 1666.]

The following is the report of Col. John Allan, Commissioner to the Indians of the Eastern Department, to President John Hancock of the Continental Congress:

BOSTON, April 2nd 1777.

Sir—It may surprise the Honble Congress to hear of my being in Boston at this time, the Reason which Occations the Necessity of this has given me much Concern, moreso as I Cannot proceed in the manner I proposed when at Baltimore.

The Unfortunate Attempt of Captain Eddy has made a great alteration in Nova Scotia and its Dependencies, so much that I find I must go better prepared, to Enable me to Discharge my Duty to the States. The Unsteadiness of the Indians, the Vigilent Endeavours of the British Subjects in that quarter since Last fall; The High premium which is Offered to Apprehend me, makes it somewhat more precarious.

Soon after my Return from the Southward, Ambroise Bear Second Chief and principle Councillor of the St Johns Tribe Arrived here, in Order to settle some matters Respecting the Treaty entered into with the Massachussetts State, Some particular (Trifling) Demands which they made, Appeared to be to them of some Importance, and which was highly Requisite should be settled while I was present, which would be Necessary to know, in Order to Govern myself in my futer Conduct among them. The Multiplicity of business which surrounded the Genl Court at this session prevented its being settled so soon as I Coud wish, but every Obstruction is Now Removed, with the Greatest appearance of Satisfaction on the Side of the Indians, I have keep'd them under my Own Eye, Shewed the Different Military performances about the Country, have Endeavourd to Convince them of the Esteemd Friendship possessed by the States towards them, and the great Importance of being Connected with Such Friends, I have sent them to Newbury (from whence I shall sail) taking Andovar in their way to see the Powder Works.

By these Indians and some other Intelligences I have not received very favourable Accounts of the Mickmacks, they in many Respects seem to familiar with the Subjects of Britain, I have Every Reason to fear that if nothing is done in that part, they will be very Troublesome, Eddys Disaster has Occationed much uneasiness among them, & indeed Ambroise seems to Suspect some of His

Own Tribe. As Intelligence has been Received that Scouting Partys of Canadians and Indians may Often be Expected down the River St Johns & other parts of the Eastward of New England.

From the Situation of affairs in that Country, The Great Expences which has Accrued By hiring Vessels in Such business, and to Expidate and Carry on the business As may be most Beneficial, I have purchased for the Service a Small Schooner of Thirty Tons, which will Run in Small Cricks and Rivers. I have allso procured 4 Small Carriage Guns & 8 Swivils. As it is Necessary She Shoud have Something for defence, Both for Indian Affairs and Conveying Intelligence, And it being Probable She may be Sometimes Idle, I Shall have a Commission of Latter of Marque, whereby she may Run Out in the Bay, and take Something to Lessen Expense and Distress the Enemy.

It has Occation'd me much Trouble. Least it shoud have given Offence to the Honble Congress of my Not proceeding before Now on my Agency, Nor Not Writing from here before, and My being obliged to make Considerable more preparation than at first Expected. The Convulsed State of that unhappy province, It was highly Necessary I shoud have Some Idea what was Intended that I might Govern myself Acordingly: The Arrival of Ambroise in whose absence nothing was likely to happen among the Indians, And the Communication being Obstructed by Ice. Having Consulted Some Gentlemen it was thought best Act to Go for a short time—did not Incline to Write till I know'd the Result of what was Intended in Our parts, But on dispatching the Bearer I intend proceeding with all Expedition for the River St Johns, when I shall Run up to the Indian Settlements & where I Expect to Reside if permitted—I Shall Call the Tribe together for Conferrence, after which take some of the Chiefs and proceed to Morimichee, where I expect to meet the Mickmacks, have the Different matters talk'd over with the Tribes Jointly & Endeavour to Settle a Treaty and Regulate the manner of Trade. There will be a Necessity upon these Excursions to have some men Employ which with some other Necessary Expences, will occation some More Advance to Enable me to pursue the Business more Effectually, I am more Anxious in th[illegible] because, it will be proper I should have every matter Requisite at once As there is No Likely of any Resourse in that Quarter Since the Opperation of Mr Eddy. I shall Endeavor to pursue at the Same time every measure of Economy, And Trust and Rely will

Accomplish every Necessary business to the Approbation of the Honble Congress, which to do in every Department of Life, I shall Endeavour with my Utmost Abilitys to Merit.

I must beg Liberty at this time to make mention Respecting the Countys of Sunbury and Cumberland in Nova Scotia, the former in perticular.

The Honble Congress have no doubt received the perticulars of the Unhappy Attempt made by Captain Eddy in that County, but Improbable that they have Receivd Such a Sussinct Account, as to be Sensible of the present Condition of the Inhabitants. My being acquainted with the Situation of the place, The Indigent Circumstances many Oppulant Familys are Reduced to, brings to View a Scene that Can hardly be Conveyd to Strangers, about Seventy Familys of American Friends Left among a Brutal Band of British Soldiers, having Not men Sufficient among the whole to procure feul for the severe Season, the whole of the French Accadians About 130 familys fled to the woods, Yet notwithstanding all this they willingly and Chearfully Resign those Temporal Comforts waiting & depending upon Assistance as was Promised them, Glorying that they had suffered in such a Cause & Standing Ready to Risque their Lives and Spend the Remainder of their Interest in Subduing the Power of Britain, Defend the Cause of Liberty and Set up the Standard of America in that Country.

Many of the Unhappy Sufferers have taken Shelter in these parts, after Undergoing the severest hardships during their Journey which was performed the Greatest part thro' the Wilderness still Expecting Relief—But after waiting a Long time their hopes Are blasted—it Appears they Can Receive No Immediate Succour—And for fear of a more deplorable Scene Coming on their Familys in their Absence, Must Return Incog, to Endeavour to Succour them with their Own help. Should any by Trouble and Despondency Incline to Join their Familys, it is but to True that they will be Compelled to submit to Every Cruel and Sacreligious Mandate and Command of a Revengefull and Bloody Enemy & Treated as Objects of Contempt, Scorn & Derision by Every Insignificent Tool of Despotism. And to Remove their Familys they Cannot without Assistance, Such is the Present Situation of these Unhappy People, And to Aggrevate their distress, to think of the Great Advantages which the Enemy's of America Reaps from their quiet possession of Nova Scotia.

I fully Expected and Rely'd that something, would have been done in that part, But I find I am disappointed. Why some measure is Not pursued to Reduce that province I Cannot pertend to Determine, and it may be thought (Justly) Impertinent in me to make mention of it, when Superior Wisdom has thought it otherwise. Several Gentlemen of the Genl Court of this State, Attributes it because they Are Not Certain wether the Honble Congress would Approve of it, or Allow the Expences, and allso about men, that they Cannot for fear it would Interfere in their quoto of Continental Troops. The Gentlemen in General & all I have Spoke to Seems Conscious of the Necessity of doing Something, Even for the Safety of the Eastern parts of this State, but Still undetermined what to do.

The Reduceing of Nova Scotia is No Great matter, if it is Managed with Condu[ ] and Spirit, Since my Arrival from the Southward I have Receivd a perticular Account of Every fortify'd place thro' the province, their difft Situation & Manner of Access, all which I deld to the Honble Board of this State. The Advantages America must Gain by destroying Such an Interest of the Enemys Deposited there woud far Exceed (Shoud it take place) the Expence & Risque in Attempting it.

Shoud it not be thought Expedient to Reduce the Province it is Absolutely Requisite some post of Defence Shoud be Erected up the Bay of Fundi As Convenient and Near the frontiers of Canada & Nova Scotia, otherwise the Inhabitants of the Eastern parts Must be subject to Every Depradation & the Lumber Trade destroyd.

The River St Johns whose Branches Extend to Various parts both of New England and Nova Scotia—its Adjacency to River St Lawrence Near Quebec & the Communication So facil, it has been surprising to me the Enemy had not secured it before Now, but I have every Reason to Suppose they will do it this Summer, if the Case the Friendship of the Eastern Indians will be lost, must be perpetualy Annoying the Eastern Settlements, let them ever be so well prepared—besides the Easy and Commodious Access the Enemy will have into Canada—but on the Contrary Should it be Secured by us, (which 500 men Some Cannon and Necessarys Conform woud very Easily do & would also Annoy the Enemy in Nova Scotia) it will prevent all those Evils & be a Secure Asylum for the unhappy people of that province who might be forced to flee. The Inhabitants of the County of Sunbury which mostly Inhabits on this River, have Actually declared Independency & publicly thrown

of the Yoke of Britain (tho' I find their proceedings Incorrect) and this Winter have Recd from them an Authority to Appear in their behalf at the Continental Congress—but their present Situation is Such that I Cannot think it improper to make Such appointment, but I must Implore in their behalf Some Assistance to Enable them to Maintain what they So publickly profess & what will Render them keener Objects of Vengeance at this time.

The Accadian French are Another Body of people I am Interested with, I have Spared neither time nor Money to Convince them of the Nature of this War, and have had the pleasure to see them fully Satisfy'd, and of their Warm Attachment to America, by this I may say they have been brought in to Sacrifice their all a Second time, [ ] more Misserable than Ever. Shoud Nothing be done to help them, They from Odd principles, may be brought to the other side & dispise the Americans for breach of promises.

The Inhabitants of Nova Scotia Now here, after the Determination of the Honble Court Concluded to Send a person to the Honble The Continental Congress to Lay before them Their Care with the difft papers Respecting the Same Praying Assistence.

Mr Robert Foster the bearer that is Intrusted with this matter, whom I flatter myself will be Indulged, so far as to be permited to lay before their Honours this affair, praying it may be taken under Consideration & that Relief may be Granted.

I am with the Utmost Duty & Respect
Your Honours Most Abdt
& Devoted Hble Servt
Jn. Allan.

The Honble John Hancock.

[*Papers of Cont. Cong. Letters A*, 78, Vol. I, p. 63.]

A HAZARDOUS AND GLORIOUS CAUSE.

All who took part in that hazardous and glorious cause are dear to me. The memory of those gone before I venerate; the living I love; all acted from principle and all contributed more or less to our Independence. [Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 28th June, 1827.]

COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI AT THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.

On page 12 of this Book is given an account of Pulaski's conduct at the Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, where he struck "his first blow in defence of American Liberty," and before he had received an appointment from Congress, but in this affair acting under special orders of General Washington. The annexed account of his spirited action will be found more comprehensive and thus more interesting to all admirers of the gallant Catholic Pole. It is the relation of one who fought under him in this engagement:

We had been in the saddle about an hour, under the intrepid Pulaski, who, with his own hands, examined our swords, pistols, and other equipments, as if assured that the struggle would be a deadly, and a long continued one. The day was one of the most beautiful that ever broke over the earth. We were about half a mile from the main body, ranged along a green slope, facing the west; our horses, about four hundred in number, standing as patiently as so many marble statues; until just as the eastern sky began to redden and undulate, and cloud after cloud to roll up, and heave like a great curtain upon the wind, and the whole heaven seemed discharging all its beauty and brightness upon one spot.

I happened to turn about, and saw the tall Pole (Pulaski) bare-headed, tilting his horse, like some warlike presence come up out of the solid earth, to worship upon the very summit of the hill behind us it might be (for the noble carriage of the man, the martial bearing of the soldier, would permit either interpretation), in the awful employment of devotion, or in the more earthly one of martial observation. But suddenly he reined up his charger, shook the heavy dew from his horseman's cap, replaced it, and leaped headlong down the hill, just as a bright flash passed away on the horizon, followed by a loud report; and, the next instant, a part of our ranks were covered with dust and turf, thrown up by a cannon ball that struck near the spot he had just left.

Our horses pricked up their ears at the sound, and all at once, as if a hundred trumpets were playing in the wind, came the enemy in his advance. Pulaski unsheathed his sword, called out a select body, and set off at a full gallop to a more distant elevation, where we saw the enemy advancing in two columns; one, under Kny-

phausen, which moved in tremendous steadiness, in a dark solid mass, towards the spot occupied by General Maxwell; the other, under Cornwallis, which seemed to threaten the right flank of our main body. Intelligence was immediately sent to Washington, and reinforcements called in from the posts we had left.

We kept our position, awaiting for a whole hour the sound of conflict; at last a heavy volley rattled along the sky; a few moments passed, and then another followed, like a storm of iron upon drum heads. The whole air rung with it; another, and another followed; then, gradually increasing in loudness, came peal after peal, till it resembled a continual clap of thunder, rolling about under an illuminated vapor. But Pulaski, with all his impetuosity, was a general, and knew his duty too well to hazard any movement till he should be able to see with certainty, the operations of the enemy in the vapor below.

Meanwhile, several little parties that had been sent out, came in, one after the other, with the intelligence that Knyphausen had broken down upon Maxwell in magnificent style—been beaten back again; but that he had finally prevailed, and that Maxwell had retreated across the river. A thin vapor had now risen from the green earth below us, and completely covered the enemy from our view. It was no longer possible to follow him, except by the sound of his tread, which we could feel in the solid earth, jarring ourselves and our horses; and now and then, a quick glimmering in the mist, as some standard was raised above it; some weapon flourished, or some musket shot through it like a rocket.

About an hour after, a horseman dashed through the smoke on the very verge of the horizon, and after scouring the fields, for a whole mile, within view, communicated with two or three others, who set off in different directions; one to us, with orders to hurry down to the ford, where the commander in chief was determined to fall on Knyphausen with all his power, before Cornwallis could come to his aid. It was a noble but hazardous game. And Pulaski, whose warhorse literally thundered and lightened along the broken and stormy precipice by which he descended, kept his eyes warily to the right, as if not quite certain that the order would not be countermanded.

We soon fell in with General Greene, who was posting, all on fire to give Knyphausen battle; and the next moment saw Sullivan in full march over a distant hill towards the enemy's flank. This

arrangement would, doubtless, have proved fatal to Knyphausen, had not our operations been unfortunately arrested at the very moment we were prepared to fall upon him, man and horse, by the intelligence that Cornwallis had moved off to another quarter. It was a moment of irresolution—doubt. It was the death blow to our brilliant hopes of victory. Greene was recalled, and Sullivan commanded to halt.

Hardly had this happened, our horses being covered with sweat and froth, fretting on the bit like chained tigers, and ourselves covered with dust, it being an excessively hot and sultry day, when a heavy cannonade was heard on our right flank; and Greene, to whose division we had been attached, was put in motion to support Sullivan, whom we had left some hours before. The truth now broke upon us like a thunderclap. The enemy had passed, concentrated, as we supposed; and fallen upon our right.

I shall never forget Greene's countenance, when the news came; he was on the road side, upon an almost perpendicular bank; but he wheeled where he was, dashed down the bank, his face white as the bleached marble, and calling to us to gallop forward, with such a tremendous impulse, that we marched four miles in forty minutes. We held on our way in a cloud of dust, and met Sullivan all in disorder, nearly a mile from the field, retreating step by step, at the head of his men, and shouting himself hoarse, covered with blood and sweat, and striving in vain to bring them to a stand, while Cornwallis was pouring in upon them an incessant volley.

Pulaski dashed out to the right, over the broken fences, and there stood awhile upright in his stirrups, reconnoitering, while the enemy, who appeared, by the smoke and the dust that rolled before them in the wind, to be much nearer than they really were, redoubled their efforts; but, at last, Pulaski saw a favorable opportunity—The column wheeled; the wind swept across their van, revealing them, like a battalian of spirits, breathing fire and smoke. He gave the signal; Archibald repeated it; then Arthur; then myself. In three minutes we were ready for the word.

ANTI-CATHOLIC SPIRIT OF THE COLONIES AS SHOWN ON THE PASSAGE OF THE QUEBEC BILL.

The items below show the anti-Catholic spirit prevalent throughout the Colonies in 1774-5, after the passage of the QUEBEC ACT.

Hugh Baillie of London, writing to Henry Reed of Philadelphia, August 2, 1774, said:

"I have seen for some time past, that some men in power about the King intended arbitrary power, but corrupt as we are, I never thought they durst ever attempt to support it in America by introducing Popery and Slavery into Canada enlarging that Province in order to surround our Protestant brethren by French Papists. How they got the King to forget his Coronation oath, and to forget the act of settlement of the crown upon his family, by both of which the protection of liberty and Protestant religion are provided for, is more than I can imagine. But their thirst for arbitrary power is so great that nothing can stand in its way.

"It was very unaccountable to see a Protestant House of Commons pass the Quebec Bill, establishing Popery with as much ease as they would have done any other that was a matter of indifference; but it will not be believed in after history that there would have been twenty-six men found in twenty-six Protestant Bishops who would have consented to prefer Popery and slavery, as our twenty-six bishops did, to the Protestant religion and liberty. But us you don't like Bishops and so won't divide your wealth amongst them, the Archdeacons, prebends, deans, canons, persons, &c., like Papists better than you. Only compare the conduct of these bishops with those put in the Tower by King James for opposing Popery. It is evident they can have no religion, and they are much worse than the members of a certain house who are bribed by ready money, whereas these venerable gentlemen are only bribed by the hopes of a better bishopric." [*Life Esther Reed*, p. 197.]

THIRTY THOUSAND ROMAN CATHOLIC CANADIANS.

"London, September 9 [1774]—We are assured from very respectable authority, that General Carlton is gone over to his government of Quebec with positive orders to embody THIRTY THOUSAND Roman Catholic Canadians immediately as a militia.

"The militia of Canada, by the laws of that country now fully established by the Quebec Act, are under the same military law as

regular troops. General Carlton is universally allowed to be the most skilful officer in the British service.

"With so farmidable a Popish army, commanded by so able a General in the service of the Crown, in a profound peace, and entirely without the control of Parliament; is it not high time for Protestants of all denominations in these kingdoms, to take some effectual measures for the security of their civil and religious liberties?

"Is it not expressly contrary to law for a Popish army to be inlisted in the service of the Crown of Great Britain?" [*N. Y. Journal or General Advertiser,* Nov. 3, 1774. No. 1661.]

"TO THE BR——ISH MINISTRY ON THE QUEBEC BILL."

"What ye have gain'd of late let others tell,
Who know the country, and your motives well;
What ye have lost all see. With all your arts
Ye've lost unnumber'd honest English hearts,
Of value more than all these Popish parts."

"EMIGRANTS."

"Three things we seek abroad, flying or fled
From hence—Religion, liberty and bread,
Grant us, oh heav'n! a favourable wind.
Papists and pensioners may stay behind."

[*N. Y. Journal,* Nov. 3, 1774]

ON THE BISHOPS VOTING FOR THE QUEBEC BILL
"A WISH."

When shall we see again religion's power,
Seven English Bishops going to the Tow'r!
On the Quebec Bill and other late measures,
That nation never can continue long,
Where bribes determine what is right or wrong;
Whose faith with change of place must go to wreck,
Here Protestants, but Papists at Quebec.
Where none must say, Sire, taken by decoy
Yourself and your's hast'ning to destroy!
All this is true but say so, if you dare,
Truth does not pass for truth in ev'ry air.

[*N. Y. Journal or General Advertiser,* Nov. 3, 1774. No. 1661.]

"The nation which would not so much as legally recognize the existence of a Catholic in Ireland, from political considerations

sanctioned on the St. Lawrence the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome and confirmed to the clergy of that Church their accustomed dues and rights." [*Bancroft,* Vol. V, p. 527, Ed. 1857.]

Rev. Samuel Langdon, President of Harvard College, in a sermon at Watertown, Mass., on 31st May, 1775, said: "The 19th of April, 1775, is the date of an unhappy war openly begun by the ministers of the King of Great Britain against his good subjects of his colonies and implicitly against all the other colonies. But for what? Because they have made a noble stand for their natural and Constitutional rights, in opposition to the machinations of wicked men who are betraying their royal master, establishing Popery in the British dominions, and aiming to enslave and ruin the whole nation."

In a note to the published Sermon he said: "When we consider the late Canada Bill, which implies not merely a toleration of the Roman Catholic religion (which would be just and liberal) but a firm establishment of it through that extensive province, now greatly enlarged to serve political purposes, by which means multitudes of people, subjects of Great Britain, which may hereafter settle in that vast country, will be tempted, by all the attachments arising from an establishment, to profess that religion, or be discouraged from any endeavors to propagate reformed principles, have we not great reason to suspect that all the measures respecting the colonies have originated from Popish schemes of men who would gladly restore the race of Stuart, and who look on Popery as a religion most favorable to arbitrary power. [Thornton's *Pulpit of Revolution,* p. 257.]

"A Defence of Revolution and Address of the American Congress" issued in London in reply to Dr. Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny,* said, p. 25:

"Will he make mankind believe that government aimed at public good when it established Popery and French laws through extended Canada?"

Did our pious Bench of Bishops aim at public good when they concurred in that impious bill?

"That detestable Quebec Bill which is so evidently intended as a bridle on the Northern Colonies." [Letter from London, July 23, 1774, in *Am. Ar.,* 4th S., Vol. I, p. 627.]

CHRISTOPHER MARSHALL ON THE QUEBEC BILL.

I have no doubt but ere now thou hast heard of the cruel and unjustifiable stretch of the King and Parliament in making and passing of the Quebec bill, which is in its nature both odious and opprressive by involving of a great country in an infinity of difficulties and in the worst of despotism, by tearing up justice and every good principle by the roots. Yet this bill has gotten the royal sanction and the Parliament the King's thanks. Thus by so doing he has to all intents broke his coronation oath, as I apprehend, and indeed it is the opinion of some who thinks candidly on this affair, that this very bill was planned and formed by the Courts of France and Spain, and it is not improbable but that America is to be disjointed, so as to be divided into three parts, so that each of those powers may have a proportionable share, as has lately been the case of poor Poland, to the lasting blemish and stain of Great Britain.

Now are we not verging as fast as possible into a lost and undone condition if we comply with the requisitions of our mother country, a parent that we merely adored and loved, yet how in her turn has she attempted to reward us? Nay, have not our petitions, remonstrates and complaints been utterly rejected and spurned at, and instead of comfortable and kind expressions sent us, what have we received but cruel and invective language, and this urged with the dreadful sound of fire and sword to oblige us into a compliance? [*North American,* Phila., Aug. 3, 1902.]

In a Letter from Montreal to New York, dated October 9, 1774, the writer says that all the English inhabitants of Montreal had "showed their abhorrence of the Quebec Bill which establishes the French laws in this Province" by a meeting which declared that the Act made the Roman Catholic religion the established religion in the country and we have no security for our property nor religion and must be reduced to the unhappy necessity of living as slaves or abandoning the country and a great part of our property. [*Am. Ar.,* 4th S., Vol. I, p. 853.]

QUEBEC BILL.

In a letter from London to New York, dated October 3, 1774, the writer declares: "You have seen the Quebec Bill and carefully considered its contents; occasion has been taken from it to attack the ministry as friends to Popery, and to represent them as intending by it to induce the Papists to assist in reducing the Protestants

of America to slavery. The project has answered beyond expectations; the cry of the enjoyment of Popery, and the cruelties exercised against you has reached all parts of the country, and inflamed the people, with zeal in your favor aand indignation against the Administration." [*Am. Ar.*, 4th S., Vol. I.]

The Committee of the several towns of Cumberland, Massachusetts, met September 22, 1774, and among other declarations set forth that "As the very extraordinary and alarming Act for establishing the Roman Catholick religion and French laws in Canada, may introduce the French or Indians into our frontier towns, we recommend that every town and individual within County should be provided with a proper stock of military stores, according to our Province law; and that some patriotick military officers be chosen in each town to exercise their several companies and make them perfect in the military art." [*Am. Ar.*, 4th S., Vol. I, p. 800.]

The Inhabitants of Stamford, Conn., met October 7, 1774, and declared, *inter alia*, that "viewing the Quebec Bill whereby the Roman Catholic religion is established over a great part of his Majesty's extensive Continent of America as an attempt not barely to destroy our civil liberties, but in an open declaration that our religious privileges, which our forefathers fled their native country to enjoy, are very soon to be abolished, &c." [*Am. Ar.*, 4th S., Vol. I., p. 827.]

William Lee, Sheriff and Alderman of London, Commercial Agent of the Continental Congress in France, and Minister to the Courts of Vienna and London, in writing from London, 10th September, 1774, to Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, said, in noting the passage of the Quebec Act:

"General Carlton is sent to his government of Quebec, to embody 30,000 Roman Catholics there. . . . As the first blow is struck by the Ministry and every tie of allegiance is broken by the Quebec Act, which is absolutely a dissolution of this Government, the compact between the King and the people is totally done away with."

Advising measures of opposition he said:

"You are to endeavor to raise up a formidable opposition here . . . by making a prodigious cry against the Quebec establishment. The principles of this Act are abominable beyond expression, but what hurts me most is the ministerial plan openly avowed, to make use of the Canadians to enslave all America, which may possibly be accomplished in a few years, if the Act is not repealed, as you will

be hemmed up between two fires, the Canadian on your back from Hudson's Bay to the Mississippi, and the ships of war on your coast.

"The people here will not make any opposition to the Act on this ground. They are, nevertheless, very greatly alarmed at the threatened establishment of Popery by law, and raising a formidable Roman Catholic army; and if these apprehensions are aided and increased by proper representations from the Colonies, I shall not be surprised if the Quebec Act proves as fatal to Lord North as the excise scheme was to Sir R. Walpole." [*Letters of Wm. Lee,* Vol. I, p. 92.]

"I would have been far better to have given civil rights to the Roman Catholics before making them soldiers; they would now, no doubt, willingly employ the arms in their hands to destroy the privileges of which they were not suffered to partake." [Shelburne, *Parliamentary History,* XVIII, 724.]

The Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of London, on June 22, 1774, addressed the King declaring they were "exceedingly alarmed that the Quebec Bill had passed Parliament." He declared, among other objections, "That the Roman Catholic religion, which is known to be idolatrous and bloody, is established by this Bill, and no legal provision is made for the free exercise of our reformed faith, nor the security of our Protestant fellow subjects of the Church of England, in the true worship of Almighty God, according to their consciences. That your Majesty's illustrious family was called to the throne of these kingdoms, in consequence of the exclusion of the Roman Catholic branch of the Stuart line, under the express stipulation that they should profess the Protestant religion; and according to the oath established by the sanction of Parliament, your Majesty at your coronation solemnly swore that you would, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and Protestant reformed religion, established by law." [*Am: Ar.,* 4th Series, Vol. I, p. 215.]

The King, however, gave his assent to the Bill, as it was "founded on the clearest principles of justice and humanity."

The Bill declared that at the Conquest of Canada "the inhabitants amounted to 65,000 persons professing the religion of the Church of Rome," and it provided that these subjects "May have, hold and enjoy the free exercise of the religion of the church of Rome, subject to the King's supremacy, declared and established by an Act made in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth

. . . and that the Clergy of the said church, may hold, receive and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights, with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion."

The inhabitants were also exempt from taking the oath required by the statute of Queen Elizabeth.

At a general meeting of the Committees of the several Counties of New Jersey held at New Brunswick July 21, 1774, among the resolutions adopted one contained the declaration that the "inhabitants of this Province were fast friends to the Revolution settlements."

This was the "Glorious Revolution of 1688" and indicates the anti-Catholic sentiment prevailing. [*Am. Ar.*, 4th Series, Vol. I, p. 623.]

COMMODORE JOHN CASSIN.

Born in Philadelphia July 7, 1760, was baptised at St. Joseph's. He was the son of Joseph Cassin, born in Dublin, who came to Philadelphia in 1725 and died early in 1794. His will probated March 4, 1794, of which his "dutiful son John" was one of the executors. All of Joseph Cassin's descendants are now non-Catholics except those of his son John who married Ann Willcox, granddaughter of Thomas Willcox, Catholic, who settled at Concord (now Ivy Mills), Pa., in 1727.

John Cassin, though scarce 17 years old, "served in the army during the crisis 'that tried men's souls'; he fought at the Battle of Trenton and his patriotic aid in defense of the rights of the American Republic was employed at other interesting periods of the Revolutionary War," said the Charleston, (S. C.) *Courier* of March 22, 1822, in an obituary notice of his death.

The *American Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia of April 2, 1822, announced that on March 25th Commodore Cassin was buried at the Roman Catholic chapel in Charleston with all the honors belonging to his rank and services.

John Cassin was first Master of a merchantman and twice shipwrecked. He entered the U. S. Navy and during the War of 1812 commanded the Naval forces in the Delaware River for the protection of Philadelphia. On January 16, 1800, he was appointed Lieutenant to rank from November 13, 1799. [*Records A. C. H. S.*, Dec., 1904.]

THE QUEBEC ACT.

The Quebec Act of 1774 was, as stated by Sir Guy Carleton, introduced into Canada at a time of struggle and disquietude. It was received with disfavor by the other Colonies, who, at the Congress called to formulate complaints, brought it forward as one of their chief grievances against Great Britain, in that it recognized the Roman Catholic religion, abolished English laws and established a civil and spiritual tyranny in Canada, to the danger of the other Provinces. The address went very far. It declared that the Act gave a legal existence to a religion which flooded England with blood and had spread hypocrisy, persecution, murder and revolt into all parts of the world. That this view of the Quebec Act was generally spread among the colonists and made use of to excite their passions admits of little doubt. It is not necessary to multiply proofs of this; these are to be found in the writings of authors in the United States. One is contained in a letter written by Joseph Reed, dated at Philadelphia on the 25th of September, 1774, addressed to Lord Dartmouth. After giving accounts of proceedings at the Congress, he says: "The spirit of the people gradually rose, when it might have been expected to decline till the Quebec Bill added fuel to the fire; then all these deliberate measures of petitioning previous to any opposition were laid aside as inadequate to the apprehending danger and mischief, and now the people are generally ripe for execution of any plan the Congress advises, should it be war itself." [Historical Manuscripts Commission, 11th report, Appendix V, p. 362.]

The other is an entry from "The American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for promoting useful knowledge," quoted by Dr. Brown Goode, of the Smithsonian Institute, in a paper read before the American Historical Association. The President of the Society was Benjamin Franklin, and the entry is in the hand-writing of Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, setting forth the reasons for discontinuing the meetings of the Society to be: "The Act of the British Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston," for "Altering the Charter and for the more impartial administration of justice in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, *together with a Bill for establishing popery and arbitrary power in Quebec.*"

Such declarations, the Colonies found it difficult to explain,

when they tried to secure the French Canadians as their allies against Great Britain. To effect this, a deputation was appointed by the Congress to proceed to Canada, consisting of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, who prevailed on the Rev. John Carroll, afterwards the first Roman Catholic Archbishop of the United States, to join them. He is described as a Jesuit of distinguished attainments, amiable manners and polished address. The design of adding him to the deputation was to secure to the cause of the Colonies the influential Roman Catholics in Canada. To all the considerations urged on this score, the French Canadian Clergy answered that they had nothing to complain of against the British Government in regard to religious liberty, and therefore, that upon the well established principle that allegiance is due to protection, the clergy could not teach that neutrality was consistent with the allegiance due to such ample protection as Great Britain had shown the Catholics of Canada.

The deputation returned unsuccessful.

What effect the address respecting the Quebec Act had on the general French Canadian population is shown by the feeling exhibited when a translation was read of the passage referring to the Roman Catholic religion. In a letter from American Archives, quoted in the Introductory Memoir to Carroll's Journal, they are represented as saying: "Oh! the perfidious faced Congress. Let us bless and obey our benevolent Prince, whose humanity is consistent and extends to all religions; let us abhor all who would swerve us from our loyalty, by acts that would dishonor a Jesuit, and whose addresses, like their resolves, are destructive of their own objects."

[Report of Canadian Archives by Douglas Brymner, Archivist 1890. (Being an appendix to report of the Minister of Agriculture.) Ottawa; printed by Brown Chamberlin, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1891. Pages XX and XXI.]

CANADIAN LOYALISTS.

In Canada there were raised two regiments by the Loyalists (French and Scotch). The first under Colonel Baron de Longueuil, was directed to the relief of Fort St. Jean, Iberville, which on September 5, 1775, was defended against the Americans under Montgomery and Schuyler who with 2,000 men appeared before Fort St. Jean on their way to capture Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec. The arrival of Longueuil's force raised the spirits of the garrison and a vigorous defense was made. This Seigneurial Guard did most of the fighting during the 45 days of resistance which held back the American army in the marches of Richelieu. It was among them only that any were killed. [*Americana*, IV, 83.]

ARNOLD THE PLUNDERER OF THE CANADIANS.

The object of the Canada campaign was the deliverance, not the conquest of Canada, and all the earlier movements while Montgomery held command, were conducted with a strict regard to all personal and private property.

Regardless of Montgomery's solemn engagement with the citizens of Montreal, Arnold so soon as he found himself free from immediate control, began systematically to plunder the inhabitants, seizing large amounts of goods without giving any account and sending them to Ticonderoga. Followed closely by the owners. Arnold endeavored to shift the responsibility on a subordinate. A court of inquiry was raised, with whom Arnold quarreled, addressing them letters written in a vein of characteristic impudence, from the consequence of which he was only saved by the interference of Gates, who, to use his own words, "distatorially" dissolved the court. With what ingratitude the favor of Gates was repaid by Arnold appears in the sequel. [*Mag. Am. Hist.*, March, 1880, p. 183.]

THE OATH OF VINCENNES.

By Clarence Walworth Alvord, University of Illinois.

[From *Transactions Illinois Historical Society*, 1907.]

When George Rogers Clark occupied Kaskaskia on the night of July 4-5, 1778, he was greatly surprised to find that his position was made less difficult for him by an important party of American traders, resident in the village, and French inhabitants, all of whom were favorable to the cause represented by himself, and that it was through the endeavors of this party that no resistance to his occupation of the village had been offered.* It was on account of the friendly feeling of this party and with its coöperation that he was able to send on July 5th a detachment of thirty men under Captain Bowman to Cahokia, where the local American party was sufficiently strong to persuade all the villagers to take the oath of allegiance.

The position of Vincennes, which was on the road to Detroit, where was situated the main force of the British in the northwest, made necessary its occupancy by Clark; for, should a company of British soldiers be placed there, Clark would be cut off from all communication with the East and his own position at Kaskaskia continually threatened. The final result would have been that the Virginians could only escape by taking refuge on the Spanish side of the river. Clark clearly perceived the importance of the position, but dared not reduce his small company by detaching from it sufficient men to occupy a distant village. His only hope lay, therefore, in the friendly attitude of the French inhabitants. This he had proved in Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and the French of these villages assured him that the people of Vincennes were of the same mind. Clark had in his own hands further proof of their attachment, for among letters of Commandant Rocheblave was one from Lieutenant Governor Abbott, commandant of Vincennes, in which the Vincennes French were called rebels.†

The timid and shortsighted policy of the British government in withdrawing garrisons from the posts in the west gave Clark the same advantages at Vincennes that had made possible his occupancy

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* For a full discussion of the help given by this American party at Kaskaskia, see Illinois Hist. Collection, II, Introduction, XXXI, *et seq.*

† See "post."

of Kaskaskia. Abbott had been appointed lieutenant governor of the post and had been in the village a short time during 1777, but in the summer of 1778, the village was no longer protected by a British garrison. This made the plan which had been formed by Clark and the French possible of execution.

The priest of the parish of Kaskaskia, who was at the same time vicar general of the Illinois country, was Father Pierre Gibault who had been in the country for several years and exercised great influence over the French.* He had been a member of the American party, before the arrival of Clark, and had proved his loyalty in all the events which bound the French to the American cause. He assured the Virginia commander that it would be unnecessary to send a military force to Vincennes, because he and the French could persuade the villagers to throw in their lot with the Americans.† With the priest in this mission was associated Dr. Jean Baptiste Lafont, who was to act in a civil capacity, while Father Gibault used his spiritual influence.‡ Other men accompanied these, among whom was a spy in Clark's interest.

A proclamation to be published to the people of Vincennes was prepared. This was undoubtedly translated into French by Jean Baptiste Girault, a resident of Cahokia, who had been appointed on July 6th the official translator.§‖ It read as follows:

"George Rogers Clark, Colonel Commandant of the troops of Virginia at the Falls of the Ohio and at the Illinois, etc., addresses the inhabitants of the Post of Vincennes.

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* Shea, "Life and Times of Most Rev. John Carroll, *passim.*"

† Clark's Memoir in English "Conquest of the Northwest," I, 487.

‡ I have not succeeded in finding any information concerning Lafont.

§ Can. Archives, B., 184, Vol. II, 508. The transcription of the French may be found in Appendix I. This is incorrectly endorsed as a "Petition of the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes to Colonel Clark of Virginia," but is correctly callendared in the Can. Archives Report for 1888. The endorsement states that it was received December 4, 1780, which is the date upon which the papers taken from Colonel de la Balme were received at the British headquarters. So probably a copy of the proclamation of George Rogers Clark was carried on the ill-starred expedition of that leader. Since it appears among the calendars of non-related papers, it has escaped the notice of historians up to this time; at least I have not noticed its previous use. See Dunn, *Indiana,* 136; English, *Conquest of the Northwest,* I, 201.

‖ For further information concerning Girault, consult *Ill. Hist. Collections,* II, 20, n. 2.

"The inhabitants of the different British posts from Detroit to this post, having on account of their commerce and position great influence over the various savage nations, have been considered as persons fitted to support the tyrannies which have been practiced by the British ministry from the commencement of the present contest.

"The secretary of state for America has ordered Governor Hamilton at Detroit to intermingle all the young men with the different nations of savages, to commission officers to conduct them, to furnish them all necessary supplies, and to do everything which depends on him to excite them to assassinate the inhabitants of the frontiers of the United States of America; which orders have been put into execution at a council held with the different savage nations at Detroit the 17th to the 24th day of the month of June, 1777. The murders and assassinations of women and children and the depredations and ravages, which have been committed, cry for vengeance with a loud voice.

"Since the United States has now gained the advantage over their British enemies, and their plenipotentiaries have now made and concluded treaties of commerce and alliance with the kingdom of France and other powerful nations of Europe, His Excellency the Governor of Virginia has ordered me to reduce the different posts to the west of the Miami with a part of the troops under my command, in order to prevent longer responsibility for innocent blood. According to these orders I have taken possession of this fort and the munitions of this country; and I have caused to be published a proclamation offering assistance and protection to all the inhabitants against all their enemies and promising to treat them as the citizens of the Republic of Virginia (in the limits of which they are) and to protect their persons and property, if it is necessary, for the surety of which the faith of the government is pledged; provided the people give certain proofs of their attachment to the states by taking the oath of fidelity in such case required, as prescribed by the law, and by all other means which shall be possible for them, to which office they have voluntarily acceded. I have been charmed to learn from a letter written by Governor Abbot to M. Rocheblave that you are in general attached to the cause of America.

"In consequence of which I invite you all to accept offers hereafter mentioned, and to enjoy all their privileges. If you accede to

this offer, you will proceed to the nomination of a commandant by choice or election, who shall raise a company and take possession of the fort and of all the munitions of the king in the name of the United States of America for the Republic of Virginia and continue to defend the same until further orders.

"The person thus nominated shall have the rank of captain and shall have the commission as soon as possible, and he shall draw for rations and pay for himself and his company from the time they shall take the fort, etc., into possession. If it is necessary, fortifications shall be made, which will be also paid for by the State.

"I have the honor of being with much consideration, sirs, your very humble and obedient servant, G. R. Clark."

Armed only with this proclamation and some letters from the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Father Gibault and Dr. Lafont set forth to conquer Vincennes, possession of which would assure to the Virginians their hold on the Northwest. The story of their success may best be told in Clark's own language:* "All this had its desired effect. Mr. Gibault and his party arrived safe, and, after their spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal (except a few emissaries left by Mr. Abbott, who immediately left the country), and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner." The accompanying facsimile informs us for the first time how this oath was administered.† Each of the inhabitants subscribed to the following:

"You make oath on the Holy Evangel of Almighty God to renounce all fidelity to George the Third, King of Britain, and to his successors, and to be faithful and true subjects of the Republic of Virginia as a free and independent state; and I swear that I‡ will not do or cause anything or matter to be done which can be prejudicial to the liberty or independence of the said people, as prescribed by Congress, and that I will inform some one of the judges of the country of the said state of all treasons and conspiracies which shall come to my knowledge against the said state or

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* Clark's *Memoir,* in Engligh, *Conquest of the Northwest,* I, 488.

† The transcription of the French and the signatures may be found in Appendix II.

‡ The French of the oath is barbarous. The pronoun is three times changed.

some other of the United States of America: In faith of which we have signed. At Post Vincennes, July 20, 1778. Long live the Congress." *

One hundred and eighty-two inhabitants subscribed to this oath by either signing their names or making their marks. After this, writes Clark: † "An officer was elected, the fort immediately [garrisoned], and the American flag displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes." Father Gibault and his party with some of the inhabitants of Vincennes returned to Kaskaskia about August 1st with the "Oath of Vincennes" and the news of the peaceful occupancy of the Wabash valley.

This submission of Vincennes in July was not permanent, for a few months later the British under Lieutenant Governor Hamilton retook it, and again threatened the Illinois country. Fortunately the season was so late that Hamilton decided to wait till spring to attack the Americans and therefore dispersed his troops and Indians. As is well known Clark anticipated the attack by marching in February, 1779, against Vincennes. He had learned to trust the French by that time and sent word to the people of Vincennes to expect him, and they did not disappoint him, when he arrived with his American and French army, after that tedious and difficult march over the submerged prairies.

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* The "Oath of Vincennes" belongs to the Kaskaskia Records. For a description of these see *Ill. Hist. Collection,* II, *Introduction* CLI.

† Clark's *Memoir,* in English, *Conquest of the Northwest,* I, 488. I have used the account in Clark's *Memoir* rather than the earlier and more authoritative one in his letter to Mason, because it is more comprehensive and does not contradict the earlier statement.

VIVE LE CONGRESS.

(* The names follow the order of the first column, then the second, etc. The number are added for convenience of reference.)

1 Baullou [?].*
2 Jean Bapte Cadin.
3 Piere Kerais [Querez ?].
4 fr. Bosseron.
5 Huberdeau.
6 Chine.
7 N. Perrrot.
8 Delisle.
9 Laplente.
10 Michel Brouilest.
11 Jacques Lacroix.
12 Endres Languedoc.
13 Jean Baptiste michliet.
14 Jauseph Lougat.
15 Endres St. DeLise.
16 Embroise Dumais.
17 Jens Bertons pere.
18 Jeane Bertons fils.
19 Rouel Bertiomme.
20 Jane Babtiste Durboy.
21 Charle Lamoureuse.
22 Jauseph Duroche.
23 Louis Crepoux.
24 Babtiste Harpins.
25 Louis Boy.
26 Louis Campeau.
27 Baptiste Sentira.
28 Entoine Boyri—[?].
29 Jauseph Lafleur.
30 Simon michon.
31 Pouis cappelet.
32 Entoine Bisonet.
33 antoine dugal.
34 jean marie boirée.
35 Louie Lavallé.
36 Guillaume daperon.
37 Louie haudet.
38 rené gauder.
39 Piere Rengé.
40 Michel Campeau.
41 Jean bte Lafréniere.
42 Jan bte vosdrés.
43 jean Babtiste Charpentier.
44 Jean bte carons.
45 piere Perons fise.
46 alexis Lavicharduirre.
47 J. M. Legras.
48 Le Grand, juge.
49 fransoy Rassinne.
50 Joseph Ducharme.
51 charle Villeneuve.
52 charle Bannaux.
53 guillaume Pages.
54 pier Coden.
55 Piere Cornoyre.
56 jean Baptiste St. aubin.
57 Phillibert Dit orleans.
58 Entoine dannis.
59 Ca Morin [very doubtful.]
60 jauseph deubee.
61 Entoine Catis.
62 Endre ortie.
63 Charle guilbeaux.
64 fransoy morins.
65 Jauseph st Louie.
66 Piere Parend.
67 thimoté demonbreun.
68 nicolias Bailliargon.
69 piere ambelleton.
70 frinsoy Languedoc.
71 frinsoy Bazinest.
72 Piere lajour.
73 Piere cartier.
74 Jacque dénis.
75 andre Roy.
76 nicolas chapard.
78 andré monplesir.
79 frinsoy baroy.
80 Jean bte hor——[?].
81 francois LaViolette.
82 amable Gaigne.
83 joph ——[?].
84 Jauseph Parend.
85 jacque Lamotte.
86 Morin.
87 Louie Brouilet.

88 Piere Laforest.
89 piere grimar.
90 amable deLille.
91
92 Four names completely
93 torn out.
94
95 Jan babtiste hodlet.
96 FranCois Ci Cote.
97 Jean Lamarine.
98 abram [?] gaigne.
99 Piere denis.
100 Hen—— campeaux.
101 charle gielle.
102 francois malet.
103 Jauseph Lateuse.
104 amable garquipis.
105 frensoy truville.
106 piere Blanchard.
107 charle delille.
108 Joseph Reirux.
109 jauseph descoteaux.
110 Babtiste deshoribe.
111 Janbte st onge.
112 tousint goden.
113 Loui goden.
114 gabriel Casteaux [?].
115 alexis Belanger.
116 Pierre Gamelin.
117 Oliver sautier.
118 Xaxier [?] St. Chapatous.
119 Basile Cabat [or Labat]
120 Miles Henry.
121 frinsoy Pakins.
122 frinsoy mercie.
123 frinsoy st. antoine.
124 frinsoy deshoriee.
125 Piere paipins.
126 Babtiste clement.
127 germene Clement.
128 Jauseph Clement.
129 Francois turpays [?].
130 Piere daignaux.
131 jean bt toutge.
132 piere st antoyne.
133 rene Codere.
134 Babtiste chartier.
135 charle Languedoc.
136 honorés Dannie.
137 Jacque Latrimouille
138 abelle.
139 Marie.
140 Entoine goyaux.
141 frensoy st Piere
142 Julien Canpeaux.
143 frensoy valiquels.
144 Jauseph Lhorand.
145 Entoine Bordeleaux.
146 michel nos.
147 Jean Lagarde.
148 Joseph ammelins.
149 Louie Biord.
150 piere verne.
151 Jan Louie dénoyons.
152 michel Charetier.
153 Louie mallet.
154 Jaque cardinal fis.
155 Jauseph charetier.
156 P. Barron.
157 Jean bte Berguins.
158 franssoy Bertiomme.
159 Babtiste vaudris.
160 alecSis La deroule.
161 francoise goderri.
162 Babtiste Duboy.
163 andre aleo.
164 antoine gogiets.
165 dominique Bergand.
166 amable Perons.
167 Louie deslorie.
168 Antoine de Bucherville.
169 Charlle dominique.
170 Jauseph Baziné.
171 alecSix gaignolest.
172 Louie l'evrond.
173 jaque Endrés.
174 frensoy Peltier.
175 Jaques gidon (?).
176 Jn bte Chabot.
177 Chalbaunause.
178 fransoy Boucher.
179 baneau (ms torn out).
180 Entoine malest.
181 nicolas Cardinal.
182 fransoy fouris.

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